

***The definition and interpretation of Late Roman burial
rites in the Western Empire.***

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Abstract.

This thesis defines late Roman burial practice through the rigorous analysis of burial rites from selected cemeteries throughout Western Europe within a chronological framework. Every aspect of the individual graves from these cemeteries is recorded in detail and analysed within the context of the wider whole. This enables the reconstruction of both predominant and minority burial rites within a chronological framework. The chronology uses a combination of dateable grave goods and horizontal and vertical stratigraphy to date graves to thirty year periods, starting in AD 240 and concluding in the early fifth century.

Every cemetery covered is subject to this analysis, and subsequent study examines burial patterns within the wider context of the Western Empire. Major cemeteries are examined along with smaller sites in order to enable comparison of rites both locally and within the area of study (with sites ranging geographically from Britain to Hungary). The comparisons of burial practice between the sites enables an examination of regionality on these sites, with a number of different rites showing relatively strong regional traits. This comparison also identifies a number of cases where minority individual rites occur away from their normal centre of distribution.

The discussion focuses on a number of aspects of late Roman burial rites. The coherence and importance of regionality in these rites is studied, along with the role played by religion, the identification of late Roman 'military' burials, ethnicity and potentially intrusive burials and the evidence for the role played by status and wealth in the overall pattern of burial. The final sections examines the current state of Late Roman cemetery studies and suggests areas for further study and development.

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* In addition to the appendix included here, the data used in the analysis and a further study of the positioning of grave goods in the grave are available for publication at a later date.

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*"Come then pure hands and bear the head
That sleeps or wears the mask of sleep,
And come, whatever loves to weep,
And hear the ritual of the dead."*

Alfred, Lord Tennyson,
In Memoriam, A. H. H.
XVIII

Introduction.

This study was inspired by the work done by Giles Clarke (1979) on the late Roman cemetery of Lankhills on the outskirts of Winchester. Through the creation of a good chronology based on the grave goods and the stratigraphy of the cemetery and an in-depth analysis, he was able to establish not only the development of the cemetery and the burial practice of the population, but also to identify two groups of graves which did not fit the pattern he had established as forming the indigenous practice. One of these groups was fairly coherent and was closest paralleled in its features by graves in modern-day Hungary. This led Clarke to suggest that these represented a small group of Hungarians who had moved to Winchester, possibly at the behest of Roman bureaucracy - the male graves often contain crossbow brooches, which seem to have been a symbol of official rank.

The aim of this study is to explore the possibilities raised by Clarke's work. The late Roman cemeteries of the study area have rarely been analysed within a chronological framework. The intention is to create a methodology which can be used to look at the development of cemeteries of the late Roman period in the Western Empire. This methodology will consist of a means of creating a chronology and a plan for the subsequent analysis. Having set out the parameters of the study, the next step will be to apply this methodology to sites within the study area. If there are any unusual groupings of graves within these cemeteries, parallels may well be found within the study area. It will also enable a broader view to be taken of the developments in the use of cemeteries in general and a comparison of cemeteries with others both within their local regions and within the wider study area.

The following study deals first with the creation of the methodology - through the establishment of a chronological framework and an analysis based on the results of the chronology. The results of the application of the methodology to the sites studied will be presented in chapter 3, followed by an examination of changes and similarities within the burial practices of the sites studied both locally and on a wider, regional

level. The final chapter will present a discussion of the findings of the study, combined with an assessment of the merits of this study, and the plans for further work.

Chapter 1: The creation of a methodology for dealing with cemetery data.

The data.

The main focus of this study was the comparison and analysis of individual aspects of burials and grave furnishing, and therefore it was necessary to record the data from the different sites to a set pattern in order to enable meaningful comparisons to be drawn. Accordingly each site was recorded on Microsoft Excel™ spreadsheets, with each grave occupying a single row. This enabled the collation of substantial amounts of data about individual graves. The data recorded on these spreadsheets covers the form of the burial, alignment, anthropological and physical information, the number and location and position of every type of grave good within the grave in accordance to the positional categories identified above and the likely date of the grave.

The intention was, as far as possible, to look at every aspect of burial practice in as un-biased a fashion as possible through the equal treatment of each facet of the material remains. These spreadsheets were used as the basis of much of the comparative analysis. Simple sorting of the data by differing aspects of burial practice enabled the identification of common co-occurrences and anomalies. This was undertaken in Microsoft Excel™, with the data then being exported into Microsoft Access™ for further analysis. This enabled the further examination of suspected areas of correlation and parallels.

The second strand of the analysis was the creation and application of the chronological framework to this work. Wherever possible, graves were studied within their chronological context in order to establish whether any patterns identified in the analysis were chronologically discrete or whether they were contemporaneous with different practices.

No complex statistical analysis of the data was undertaken. This was largely due to the size of the total database and the differing nature of the sites chosen. However, the database created for this study can be made available for further work. It was accepted from the start that this study could not hope to provide a full analysis of every aspect of burial practice on the sites studied. Instead the main aim was to provide a general overview to late Roman burial practice over a wide area and within a chronological framework. Within these parameters, the analysis was deliberately basic and focused primarily on examination of the primary data from individual graves.

Choice of sites.

In order to cover the whole area of study, it was decided to focus on a number of selected sites from the area of study. Within the constraints of such a study as this, it would clearly be impractical to examine all of the sites within the study area. Therefore sites were selected on a number of criteria.

The first of these was size. Ideally the major sites would be sufficiently large to enable a detailed analysis of the burial rite to stand a reasonable chance of identifying any unusual rites. Usually, these were expected to contain at least 100 burials, although in some areas, compromises had to be made. Alongside these larger sites, a number of the smaller sites from an area were also examined to establish whether there is a general regional pattern and to assess how well the larger sites fit in with the regional rites.

The second criterion on which these sites were selected was their position within the study area. It was hoped to gain a reasonable spread of sites across this area. However, it was apparent that some areas were under-represented for suitable sites, whilst others contained too many and some had to be left out in order to produce as balanced picture as possible.

Perhaps the most important factor in the choice of sites was the publication of the relevant information in an accurate and accessible form. For the purposes of this study, in which every aspect of individual graves is considered, it was important that as

much detail was available for study as possible. Therefore a minimum requirement of the chosen sites was that an accurate grave catalogue should be published, containing as full an account of the details of each grave as possible. This is ultimately a reflection on both the quality of the excavation and the publication, although in some cases sites were included for which not all of the information required was available - for example Krefeld-Gellep contains little or no evidence for the physical anthropology of the dead. For the vast majority of sites chosen however, it was possible to extract the information necessary to enable comparisons to be made. This included data on the position of individual grave goods within each grave.

It was initially hoped to study the positioning of grave goods within graves as part of this study, and sites were therefore selected with this in mind. The aim was to look at the organisation of space within the grave. Similar work on Iron Age burials has been undertaken by Olivier (1992), Parker Pearson (unpublished lecture) and Jundi (1996). Unfortunately, only a few of the sites examined contained sufficient detail to establish the position of grave goods in relation to any container for the body, or even occasionally within the grave. Therefore the study of grave goods in terms of their spatial relationship to the body could not be conducted on a wide scale.

The study also set out to examine these sites with reference to their 'centre of origin' - in other words the settlement considered most likely to have housed the majority of the individuals buried prior to death - and to their physical environment. However, it quickly became apparent that such a study would not be possible within the wider context of this thesis. The settlements associated with these sites have not always been excavated - indeed in a number of cases the identity of the 'centre of origin' for the cemetery is unclear. It also became clear that a comparison of the material culture from both a cemetery and its centre of origin would be extremely laborious and, without a detailed knowledge of, and reference to, the artefacts themselves potentially of little value. Similar problems led to the abandonment of close consideration of the location of these sites, although, as with the study of the material culture, there are a number of sites for which this could yield interesting information.

The final criteria on which sites were selected were practical and to a certain extent judgmental. The former revolves around the availability of the publications. Some sites initially chosen for study were ultimately excluded because I could not get hold of the relevant publication. The latter involves my own decision to select certain sites above others. This largely revolved around the likelihood of the site being better suited to study in terms of the definition of the burial rite.

The selection of sites was largely reached through attempting to meet the requirements of these aims. The British sites more or less chose themselves, with Alington Avenue important in providing a local 'control' for the cemeteries at Poundbury. The sites excluded include the cemeteries at Trentholme Drive (York), Cirencester and Butt Rd, Colchester. The former sites were both excluded because of the difficulties encountered in identifying individual grave cuts and linking grave goods with their graves. Butt Rd was excluded in favour of Poundbury, which had close parallels in the cemetery at Alington Avenue and which was thought more likely to show evidence for changes in burial practice. Sufficient material for comparison is provided by Philpott's study of burial practice within Roman Britain (Philpott, 1991).

The French and Dutch sites chosen were those which fitted the criteria closest, with few exceptions, although the group of sites in the South of France were intended as support for a larger cemetery excavated, at Lunel-Viel (a précis of which is provided in Reynaud, 1985). Despite strenuous efforts, it was not possible to obtain a copy of this report. It was also difficult to find suitable small sites in the Krefeld-Gellep area, and therefore none is included here. The only other significant omissions were from the Pannonia, where there is an excess of excavated and published cemeteries of the period. Amongst the sites excluded were the early excavations at Intercisa and the cemeteries at Bogad, Sopiana and Sagvar. Lányi's work on Pannonian burials provided material for comparison with the larger sites selected. (Lányi, 1972).

The sites chosen for study here are listed at the end of this chapter, along with the principal references for each and a brief description of their location.

The creation of a chronology.

The study of changes in burial practice in a cemetery inevitably depends on the creation of a chronological framework within which any changes can be seen. The creation of such a chronology relies on the combination of the dating evidence from individual graves with whatever horizontal or vertical stratigraphy is recorded. The dates for individual graves are provided by their contents, specifically their grave goods. The period covered by this study - the third and fourth centuries AD - is relatively well represented in terms of dated grave goods. These vary in accuracy from item to item, and their relative merits are discussed below. However, unless there is a dearth of grave goods on the site, or the excavation or recording of a site was inadequate, it should be possible to date a reasonable number of graves within each cemetery. The horizontal and vertical stratigraphy itself can only provide a relative chronology, but when combined with the known dates for graves, can help to date further graves and even establish rough dates of directional spread across linear features such as boundaries, ditches and banks. This will be discussed further below. Obviously the key to this dating strategy is the dating of the grave goods.

Grave goods and their use as dating tools.

This section considers the contribution of the principle type of objects regularly found as grave goods to the creation of a chronology. The six categories are i) coins, ii) crossbow brooches, iii) glassware, iv) bracelets, v) buckles and belt fittings and vi) pottery. Although it is accepted that the inclusion of these objects may have had differing significance in their inclusion as grave goods - some are likely to have been costume accessories, whilst others are likely to have been eating and drinking vessels - no distinction is made here.

i. Coins.

Coins are obviously a useful tool in terms of dating graves. The dating of all other grave goods relies to a greater or lesser extent on examples found in contexts containing coins. The majority of coins found in graves are small denomination bronzes, and may well have been in circulation for some time before their deposition. However, a coin will provide a solid *terminus post quem* for a grave. Coins appear in graves both as intentional grave goods and as accidental inclusions. Both are useful in providing dating evidence for graves. To allow for a period of circulation for the coin prior to its deposition (worn coins are not rare as grave goods), it is useful to date a grave to within twenty years of the striking of the coin. This is less necessary for graves that contain more than one coin of the last period. For the purpose of this study, the time period concerned has been split into the following periods of roughly thirty years.

Period 1 - 240-270.

Period 2 - 270-300.

Period 3 - 300-330.

Period 4 - 330-364.

Period 5 - 364-390.

Period 6 - 390 onwards.

These coin-dated graves can then be placed in one of these thirty year period. As the coin dates are likely to be the most precise, it seems sensible to construct a chronology that employs this data to their best advantage. The reliability of the dates given by the coins can be assessed by studying any graves where there is more than one coin to see to what degree the dates given are mutually supportive. This is examined further below. Ideally, it would be helpful to date a coin used as a grave good to within twenty years of its minting, and one found in the grave fill to within forty years, but the paucity of examples found in grave fills and the wide differences found between the

dates of some coins found in the grave fills and the dates of the graves suggest that the latter is impractical.

ii. Crossbow brooches.

These brooches have a widespread pattern of distribution within the later Empire, and although there are regional traits, there is sufficient uniformity for the chronology created by Keller (1971) and modified by Clarke (1979) to cover cemeteries throughout the area studied. Böhme (1974) also studied the chronology of crossbow brooches in Germany. Keller's typology has provided us with a reliable second source of dating. The reader is referred to that work for a more detailed exposition of the typology. Unfortunately, these brooches are not common grave goods.

iii. Glassware.

Glass vessels are commonly used as grave goods, and there have been several useful studies of glassware, which can help us with dating. The first of these was the work done by Isings (1957). This, along with the work of Goethert-Polaschek (1977) and Van Lith and Randsborg (1985), has been used as a basis on which to date individual vessels. There are four main forms in which glass appears in graves - as jugs or flasks, beakers, bowls or as jewellery. Of these, we are only concerned with the first three categories here. The jewellery will be dealt with separately. Glass vessels can rarely be dated any closer than a half century, and are therefore not as useful as coins or crossbow brooches as dating tools. Despite their fragile nature, the possibility of the survival of glass vessels as 'antiques' should not be discounted, given their position as status objects (cf. Van Lith and Randsborg. 1985). It may be possible to date certain forms more closely from other dating evidence within the cemetery, but it is not proposed to apply the dates obtained in this fashion between cemeteries.

iv. Bracelets.

Bracelets can also be a valuable dating tool. Work on the dating of bracelets has been done by Keller (1971), Böhme (1974) and Clarke (1979). All of these are regional studies, and can help us not only to build up a picture of regional diversity, but also to identify the region of origin for any non-local styles. It is hoped that the cemeteries studied here will fill in the gaps between these regions. As with the glassware, the accuracy of the dating is inferior to the coins and the crossbow brooches.

v. Buckles and belt fittings.

A good deal of work has been done on belt buckles and other belt fittings of the late Roman period. These include works by Bullinger (1969), Keller (1971), Böhme (1974) and Clarke (1979). As dating tools, their usefulness varies. The dates often rely on both typology and decoration, combined with a number of coin-dated examples. Although this provides us with a good basis for dating certain elaborate types of belt buckle, the majority of buckles are either too corroded or too plain to date closely. However, it may be possible to date certain types more closely within a cemetery.

vi. Pottery.

As with a number of the other dateable grave goods, the reliability and accuracy of the dates provided by the pottery in cemeteries varies according to the form of the vessel and the industry which produced it. The fine wares tend to be the best dated, as their forms tend to change more rapidly than those of cooking and storage vessels. Indeed, Pirling (1966) believes that she can date some of the glazed vessels at Krefeld Gellep to within thirty year periods within the fourth century. The Pannonian glazed wares can also often be closely dated. Of the fine wares, the most reliable in terms of dating seem to be these continental glazed vessels, Terra Sigillata vessels and some of the fourth-century fine wares in Britain. However, the variety of pottery industries is such that any reasonable pottery chronology created by an excavator will be used for that cemetery, but will always be secondary to dates provided by more accurately dated artefacts.

Summary.

Of these artefacts, much relies on the coins and crossbow brooches to provide the closest dating. The others are less accurate, but can be used both to provide confirmation for the dates provided by other sources, and can also be used to provide limited dates for graves. However it should not be ignored that all of these artefacts may well have spent some time in use prior to their burial. This may be less true of the more fragile vessels especially those of glass, which are more vulnerable to breakage.

A number of the cemeteries dealt with by this study continue in use after the 'Roman' period, and it is important to identify the graves of these later periods by their furnishings. All graves containing material that clearly belongs to a later period can then be disregarded. It is accepted that this is unlikely to enable the identification of all of the graves of later period, and other factors such as common alignment, similarities in burial rite and the spatial distribution of later graves within the cemetery can be used to identify other graves thought likely to be later.

The application of the stratigraphy.

Having ascribed dates to a number of individual graves based on their artefacts, it is now possible to use these to date other graves through stratigraphic association. There are two basic ways in which stratigraphy can aid in the creation of a chronology.

i. Vertical stratigraphy.

Vertical stratigraphy involves the partial or complete disturbance of a grave by another grave or feature of a later date. Usually this disturbance is only partial, suggesting that it was not the intention to cut the earlier grave. However, there are some examples where there appears to have been the deliberate re-excavation of a grave to place a second body on top of the first, or even to re-use the grave by placing the bones of the first occupant elsewhere in the grave. Occasionally, a grave is dug immediately

adjacent to another. In the latter two cases, the position of the first grave must have been visible or marked in some way. This visibility may have been due to the earth mound left after the burial, or to more permanent marking of the grave, such as with a headstone. However, if there are a significant number of partial disruptions, it seems reasonable to suggest that the majority of graves were not marked with a permanent marker. Clarke (1979) has suggested that a period of twenty years should be allowed during which the earth mound would still be visible, based on the comments of an undertaker. The various types of vertical stratigraphy are listed below, along with their relative dates (based on the assumption that the grave does not have a permanent marker).

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Type 1. The first grave is cut only partially, but sufficiently to suggest that there was no knowledge of the first grave. The latter grave must post-date the earlier grave by at least twenty years.

Type 2. The first grave is totally re-excavated and a second body interred either directly above or in the place of the first body. The second burial probably belongs within a twenty year time span.

Type 3. The second grave is placed immediately adjacent to, and on the same alignment as the first. It may slightly cut the first grave, but not significantly. The latter grave is certainly dug within the twenty year period after the original interment.

The graves of known date can then be used to date any graves with which they have a stratigraphic relationship.

ii. Horizontal stratigraphy.

This picture is far less clear cut than for the vertical stratigraphy, and will vary from site to site. This can only be applied to sites where there are features other than graves across which the cemetery spreads. The best types of feature for this analysis are linear features such as ditches, roads or field boundaries. These may be the original

cemetery boundaries, which become redundant as the cemetery spreads. It may well be possible to date the period at which the cemetery crosses such a feature, as Clarke (1979) showed with the features at Lankhills and Farwell & Molleson (1991) have suggested for the enclosures at Poundbury.

The Analysis.

Having created the chronology, it is possible to study the changes in the burial practice of the cemetery within a temporal framework. Without a settled chronology, it is possible to establish differences in burial practice, but it is impossible to tell whether these are contemporaneous or a development from an earlier rite. The analysis of the cemetery consists of the study of the method of disposal of the dead (both cremation burials and inhumations), the form of the grave, the anthropology of the skeletons, the grave goods and the organisation of the cemetery.

Disposal of the dead - Cremation burials and Inhumations.

i. Cremation burials.

The use of cremation burial is less predominant than in earlier centuries. In the late third and fourth centuries, inhumation is the main form of disposal of the dead, and cremation burial is the minority rite. A study of the burial practices of the early Roman Empire by Jones (1983) has shown the prevalence of cremation burial during the first, second and early third centuries.

The analysis of the cremation burials follows approximately the same pattern as that of the inhumations. It is possible in some cases to glean anthropological information from the cremation burials. However, the destructive nature of cremation, combined with the difficulty in ageing and sexing even complete skeletons, means that it is rare that such information is obtained. McKinley (pers. comm.) also believes that it

is rare for cremation burials to contain the entirety of cremated bone from an individual. Where such information is provided in the excavation report, it will be used in the analysis.

The cremation burials from the sites studied have been categorised according to the following criteria. :

1. Urned cremation burials. The body is cremated elsewhere, either with or without the grave goods, and cremated bone placed in an urn or jar. These may have grave goods placed with the urn.
2. Un-urned cremation burials. The body is cremated elsewhere, and cremated bone placed in a pit, possibly in an organic container, such as a bag. These too may have grave goods.
3. *In situ* cremation burials. The body is burnt either in or adjacent to a large pit (in the latter case, the cremated bone is then placed in the pit - which shows no signs of burning). Grave goods, where present are either placed on the pyre or with the burnt remains.

Of these three types of cremation burials, the first two are vulnerable to complete destruction by later inhumations, and un-urned cremation burials with no grave goods may well go unrecognised. Therefore, it may be that any cremation burials found within a cemetery are only a proportion of those deposited.

The anthropology of the dead and the grave goods provided will be discussed along with the study of the type of the cremation burials, whilst the importance of the cremation burials within the development of the cemetery will be discussed in the relevant section. It has been suggested that the use of cremation burial in the fourth century is a Germanic trait, but Clarke (1979) has indicated that the absence of Germanic objects in the Lankhills cremation burials, and the presence of characteristically Romano-British materials such as hobnails, points to the survival of the earlier burial customs rather than the introduction of a foreign element.

ii. Inhumations.

The majority of graves dealt with by this study are inhumations. As with cremation burials, there are a number of different aspects of inhumation that can be studied within a chronological framework. These are the grave form, the alignment of the grave, the position of the body, the use of coffins, the anthropology of the cemetery population, the provision of grave goods and the development of the cemetery.

Grave form.

The form taken by the grave for the burial can be significant. The dimensions of the graves and the shape of the grave may be related to the sex or status of the individual, or to the date of the grave. However, the degree of detail recorded by each excavator varies, and a full analysis may not always be possible.

Alignment.

The alignment of graves are represented in degrees. These represent the deviation from due North ($0^{\circ}/360^{\circ}$) of the line drawn from the feet of the body through its head. Therefore a body with its head to the East has an alignment of 90° . The alignments will be viewed in terms of shifts in alignment over time, the alignments of the differing burial practices alignments, and whether alignment is influenced by the age or sex of the deceased.

Body position.

The position of the body is considered in terms of the position of the arms, the legs and the torso. The categories used are based on those used by Clarke (1979, p137-142), but the position of the head is not considered here, as it stands a good chance of being altered by post-depositional factors. The exception to this are the examples where the head has been removed from the body and placed either on the shoulders or

elsewhere in the coffin. The position of the body will be considered in terms of the age or sex of the deceased and also in comparison with the chronology already created. As with the study of the anthropology of the cemetery, the study of the position of the body is reliant on the survival of much of the skeleton and the quality of the excavation, recording and publication. Only where these are adequate is it possible to study body position. The position of the torso is either supine, on one side or prone, with the legs either extended, flexed or crouched. The arm positions are listed below.

1. Both arms straight, placed alongside the body.
2. Right arm straight, with the left arm bent.
3. Left arm straight, with the right arm bent.
4. Both arms bent with the hands placed together on the waist or pelvis.
5. Both arms bent, with the hands placed together on the chest or upper torso.
6. Both arms bent, with the left arm bent more than the right.
7. Both arms bent, with the right arm bent more than the left.

Coffins.

Coffins can be demonstrated as being used in a number of cemeteries - either from the nails used or by the stains in the soil that represent the decomposed wood. In some cases coffins appear to have been made without nails. Therefore we cannot assume that all coffins have been identified in cases where the identification is based solely on the presence of coffin nails. The presence of coffins will be viewed in terms of chronology, body position, age and sex (where these been established), alignment and levels of furnishing.

Physical Anthropology.

Where the information is provided, it is proposed to study the age and sex of the skeletons. The age and sex of the deceased can obviously influence the choice of grave goods, and the level of grave furnishing. However the criteria used to sex skeletons are not infallible, and wherever possible the anthropological sexing should be compared

with the occurrence of grave goods likely to be associated with one sex or the other - crossbow brooches and belt fittings for men and bracelets, hairpins and necklaces for women. The estimation of age from skeletal remains is also problematical. Where such estimations are possible, they can be useful in helping us to establish some sort of picture of the cemetery population. We can also compare these probable ages and sexes with the chronology in order to assess whether there are fluctuations in the burial population. The reliability of ageing and sexing skeletal material is highly dependent on the good preservation of the bones. Where the survival of bone is only partial, the accuracy of ageing and sexing techniques is greatly reduced. Where no skeletal evidence survives, it is possible to gain a rough idea of the sex of some individuals by using the potentially diagnostic grave goods mentioned above. The use of grave goods as an indicator of sex is however a tricky one, as it can easily lead to a circular argument, and is most useful when anthropological sexing is available for comparison.

Grave goods.

The grave goods placed with the deceased are perhaps our best chance of understanding the beliefs of the dead and their immediate relatives. The choice of grave goods is likely to be governed largely by belief, custom and personal wishes. The provision of such goods involves a sacrifice of a degree of wealth. For an item to be truly a grave good, it must have been deposited intentionally with the dead - there is a good chance that items found in the grave fill are accidental inclusions, particularly if they are fragmentary. We must also be aware that organic grave goods are unlikely to survive the long period of burial. Usually, the only evidence we have for clothing comes from the position of fittings such as brooches, belts and hobnails. Initially the grave goods from a site will be viewed together in terms of the co-occurrences between the various types of grave goods in order to establish any potentially significant pattern and to provide a backdrop for further comparisons. The grave goods can then be divided into, and analysed as a number of different groups.

1. Personal articles. This group consists of jewellery - such as bracelets, hairpins and necklaces - and the remains of personal attire and its fittings - such as brooches, belts and hobnails. These may be worn or unworn. However, even when these are worn, they may have a meaning beyond their apparent functional purpose. Crossbow brooches and belts are usually considered to indicate status in men, and this may well be equally true of bracelets, brooches and necklaces in women. Where worn, these items can give us some idea of the state of dress of the deceased. The deposition of these personal articles will be viewed over time.

2. Equipment. These are functional items that are placed in the grave including arrowheads, knives, axes, spears, needles, combs, gaming sets, flint 'strike a lights', wooden boxes (usually only the metal brackets, lock plates or keys survive), spoons and spindle whorls. They can be useful in comparison with the sexing of a cemetery - the weapons are likely to be male. As with the rest of the grave goods, the analysis will concentrate on the changes in the levels of the grave furnishing over time.

3. Vessels. This consists of the glass, metal, pewter and the ceramic vessels. The glass vessels can be split into four categories - flasks (including jugs), beakers, bowls and unguentaria. There is a wider range of pottery vessels than glass. These include jugs, jars, beakers, flasks, bowls, mortaria, oil-lamps and amphorae. Metal and pewter vessels are rare. Pewter was most commonly used to make bowls, whilst various forms of metal vessels are known. The co-occurrences between the various types of vessels and changes over time will be assessed.

4. Animal remains. These may be either remains of food offerings or may be the remains of a pet. Obviously the interpretation will depend upon the species of animal, the amount of the body interred and its position in the grave. If the remains are meat bearing joints of animals placed with the grave goods, then it seems likely that these represent food placed in the grave either for the use of the dead in the afterlife or as an

offering to a deity of the afterlife. If the remains are the articulated remains of an entire animal not normally thought of as a food species, the chances are that this is not a food offering, but the deposition of a pet or favourite animal. There are of course areas of overlap that need discussing. The provision of a complete animal may still represent a ritual or food offering. In some cases, entire animals have been interred in separate graves, and seemingly unrelated to the deposition of a human body. This too may well have either a ritual significance or could also represent a favourite animal - again the interpretation will depend upon the species of animal and any associated finds.

5. Coins. Because the coins found in the graves on a site may be regarded as offerings or equipment, they are going to be treated as a separate category. The position of a coin within a grave can give it a different meaning. If it is placed in the mouth or one of the hands of the deceased, it may be interpreted as an offering for safe passage into the underworld, but if it is found at the waist, it may represent the contents of a purse. This may still represent an offering for the afterlife, but this is hard to prove. The number of coins deposited in each grave will be studied, along with an analysis of the changes in the numbers of coins deposited over time.

The grave form, alignment, body position and anthropology are much as recorded by the excavators and all of the data on the grave goods is as published. The analysis of the grave goods, however, involves the manipulation of these data according to the position of the goods in the grave, their co-occurrences with other grave goods, their relationship with the differing ages and sexes and how this changes over time.

The positions of the grave goods are recorded in the following fashion. The shaded areas represent the body of the deceased (largely based on extended burial). All pottery, unworn articles, equipment, animal remains and glass vessels are recorded according to these categories:

a. r.h.s. of skull to edge of grave, including corner & top wall.	b. region from skull, neck & shoulders to top wall of grave.	c. l.h.s. of skull to edge of grave, including corner and top wall.
d. r.h.s. of torso to wall of the grave, including r. arm.	e. Torso of body, from pelvis upwards.	f. l.h.s. of torso to wall of the grave, including l. arm.
g. from upper r. leg to wall of the grave.	h. Pelvis, both upper legs and area down to knees.	j. from upper l. leg to wall of the grave.
k. from r. ankle and lower r. leg to foot end of grave & side wall.	l. both lower legs and area down to foot end of grave.	m. from l. ankle and lower l. leg to foot end of grave & side wall.

These categories are applied to the unworn grave goods. The categories for the worn personal articles are shown below. These all relate to positions on the body where the different forms of personal articles are worn.

a. articles worn on the head.		
b. articles worn on the right shoulder.	c. articles worn around the neck and on the chest.	d. articles worn on the left shoulder.
e. articles worn on the right arm and wrist.	f. articles worn on the waist or pelvis.	g. articles worn on the left arm and wrist.
h. articles worn on the feet.		

Finally, we must address the position of the coins within the grave. Here, the categories are based on those used by Clarke(1979, p. 158). These are as follows:

a. On/around head		
b. In mouth		
c. On/near r. arm (inc. in r. hand)	d. On/near torso	e. On/near l. arm (inc. in l. hand)
f. On/near pelvis		
g. On/near r. leg		h. On/near l. leg

The co-occurrences between these different positions, the different grave goods and the data on grave forms, anthropology, body position and alignment will be considered for all of the sites studied. These are discussed below.

The use of the grave goods is inevitably tied in with the development of the chronology, but the intention is to look for any changes in the provision of grave goods over time. However, the absence of grave goods is also considered over time as this may not be solely a reflection of poverty - it may also be due to changes in burial fashions or to the religion of the deceased. The dearth of grave goods from many of the graves at Poundbury has led to the suggestion that a large part of the cemetery was Christian. (Farwell & Molleson 1993)

The development of the cemetery.

This study is concerned with the organisation of the cemetery and its spread over time. Using the data concerning age, sex, date and furnishing levels of the graves, it is hoped to identify the earliest areas of the cemetery, and indicate how it developed spatially and in terms of the make-up of the burial population. In this section, any graves showing attributes which deviate from what is considered to be the norm for contemporary graves in the cemetery will be considered. These graves need not necessarily be intrusive or 'foreign' graves, but merely those which do not really conform to the stated pattern. Where these graves form a distinct group, it may be possible to suggest that they are part of an intrusive culture or practice, but this would need to be supported by external evidence, such as a parallel for this rite elsewhere or the use of intrusive grave goods. The major problem with this is that the changes have to be significant enough to stand out from the indigenous burial practices of the cemetery. As there is inevitably going to be a fair amount of variation of practice within the indigenous burials due to a number of different factors such as status, belief and personal wishes, only the most obviously different graves will be recognised. Obviously this will vary between the individual cemeteries concerned, and will be discussed further when the specifics of each cemetery have been examined.

Sites used in this study and their principal publications.

Poundbury, nr Dorchester, England. - Published in Farwell & Molleson (1993) and Green (1987). Interim reports in Green, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974 and 1975). See also Green (1977).

Alington Avenue, nr Dorchester, England. Unpublished, (Davies *et al.* forthcoming). Interim report in Davies *et al.* (1985). I would like to thank Sue Davies for allowing me access to the site records and unpublished data.

Lankhills, Winchester, England. Published in Clarke (1979). See also Clarke (1978) and Baldwin (1985)

West Tenter St, London, England. Published in Whytehead (1986)

Oudenburg, Belgium. Published in Mertens and Van Impe (1971).

La Rue Perdue, Tournai, Belgium. Published in Brulet and Coulon (1979)

St. Quentin, Tournai, Belgium. Published in Mertens and Remy (1972)

Furfooz, Belgium. Published in Nenquin (1953)

Noyelles-sur-Mer, Picardie, France. Published in Piton and Marchand (1978).

Nouvion-en-Ponthieu, Somme, France. Published in Piton and Schuler (1981).

Nibas, Picardie, France. Published in Collart (1990).

Frenouville, nr Caen, Calvados, France. Published in Pilet (1980). See also Pilet (1993)

St. Martin-de-Fontenay, nr Caen, Calvados, France. Published in (1987) and Pilet (1994)

Marteville, France. Published in Loizel (1977).

Barisis-aux-Bois, Aisne, France. Published in Lacroix (1954)

Ville-sur-Retourne, Champagne, France. Unpublished. Interim report in Flouest and Stead (1979) I would like to thank Ian Stead for allowing me access to the details of the excavation and an unpublished report.

Poitiers, France. Published in Hiernaud and Hiernaud (1991).

Verteuil, France. Published in Buisson (1984).

Cenon, France. Published in Santrot and Frugier (1982)

Saint-Jean de Conques, Languedoc, France. Published in Blasco (1987).

Clapiès, Villeneuve-les-Béziers, Hérault, France. Published in Manniez (1987)

Fontlongue, Vias, Hérault, France. Published in Grimal *et al* (1987)

Mas de Garric, Meze, Hérault, France. Published in Rouquette (1987).

Lansargues, Hérault, France. Published in Girard and Raynaud (1982).

Les Trentières, Saint-Nazaire de Pézan, Hérault, France. Published in Girard and Reynaud (1987).

La Brèche, Laudun, Gard, France. Published in Charmasson (1968).

Font-du-Buis, Saze, France. Nativau, France. Published in Gagnière and Granier (1972).

La Guérine, Cabasse, Var, France. Published in Goudineau (1980).

Costebelle, Hyères, Var, France. Published in Borréani and Brun (1990).

La Calade, Cabasse, Var, France. Published in Bérard (1961) and Bérard (1962).

Krefeld-Gellep, Germany. Not fully published. Publications to date include Pirling (1966, 1974, 1979 and 1989) with a further volume forthcoming. See also Pirling 1986 and 1993.

Neuberg, Germany. Published in Keller (1979).

Neuberg, Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Burghof, Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Burgheim, Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Augsburg, Fr. 17. Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Augsburg, Fr. 15. Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Goggingen, Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Seestall, Germany. Published in Keller (1971).

Gerulate, Czechoslovakia. Published in Kraskovská (1976).

Tokod, Hungary. Published in Mócsy (1981)

Keszthely-Dobogo, Hungary. Published in Sági (1981)

Intercisa, Hungary. Published in Vago (1976)

Somogyszil, Hungary. Published in Burger (1979)

Chapter 2. Analysis of the burial rite in selected sites from Western Europe.

Poundbury.

Excavations to the west of Dorchester uncovered a large proportion of one of the extra-mural cemeteries of the late Roman town. The burials include a single Bronze Age burial and a number of late Iron Age/early Roman 'Durotrigan' inhumations.

The cremations.

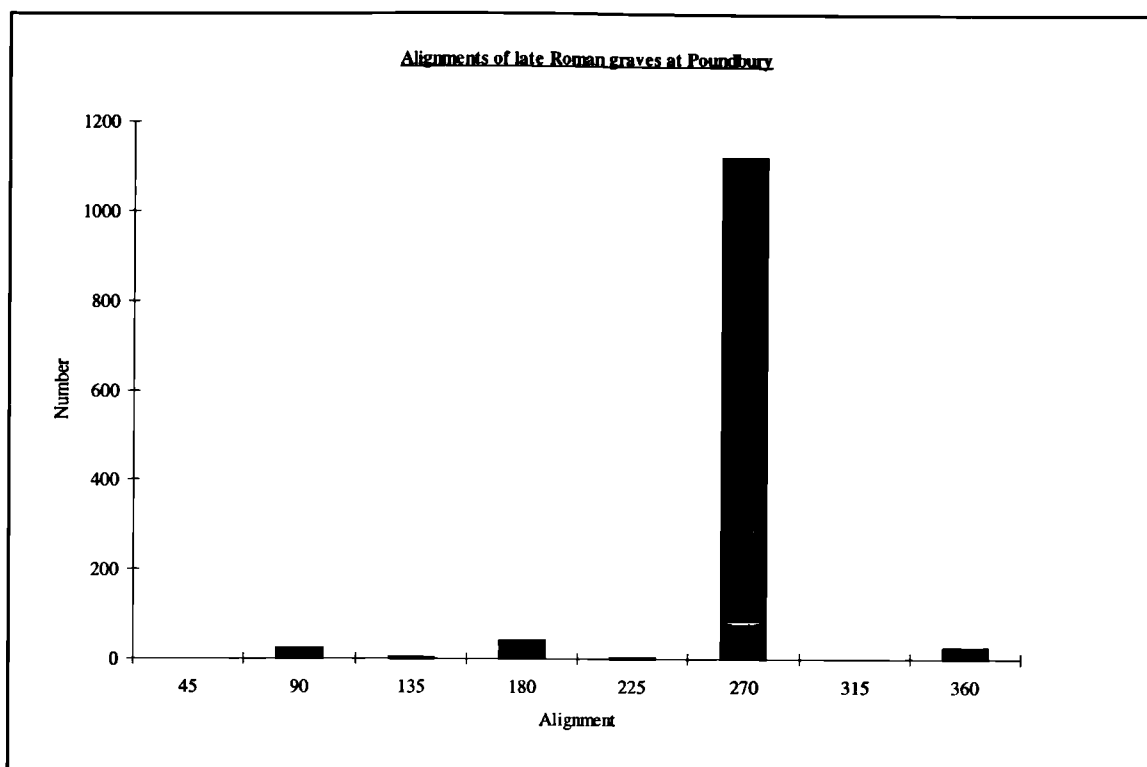
Three cremations were amongst the burials on site D (part of the eastern periphery cemetery). All of these contained pottery vessels, in varying states of repair. These vessels are generally coarseware jars, dating to the third century, and are used as containers for the cremated bone. Cremation is unusual in the Durotrigan region, where inhumation burials tend to form the norm in the late Iron Age and early Roman period. These could not be closely dated, although their relationships to a number of inhumations and the pottery suggests a date in the second half of the third century.

The inhumations.

There are some 1380 late Roman inhumations published. Few of these contain grave goods, which has a negative effect on the number of dated graves.

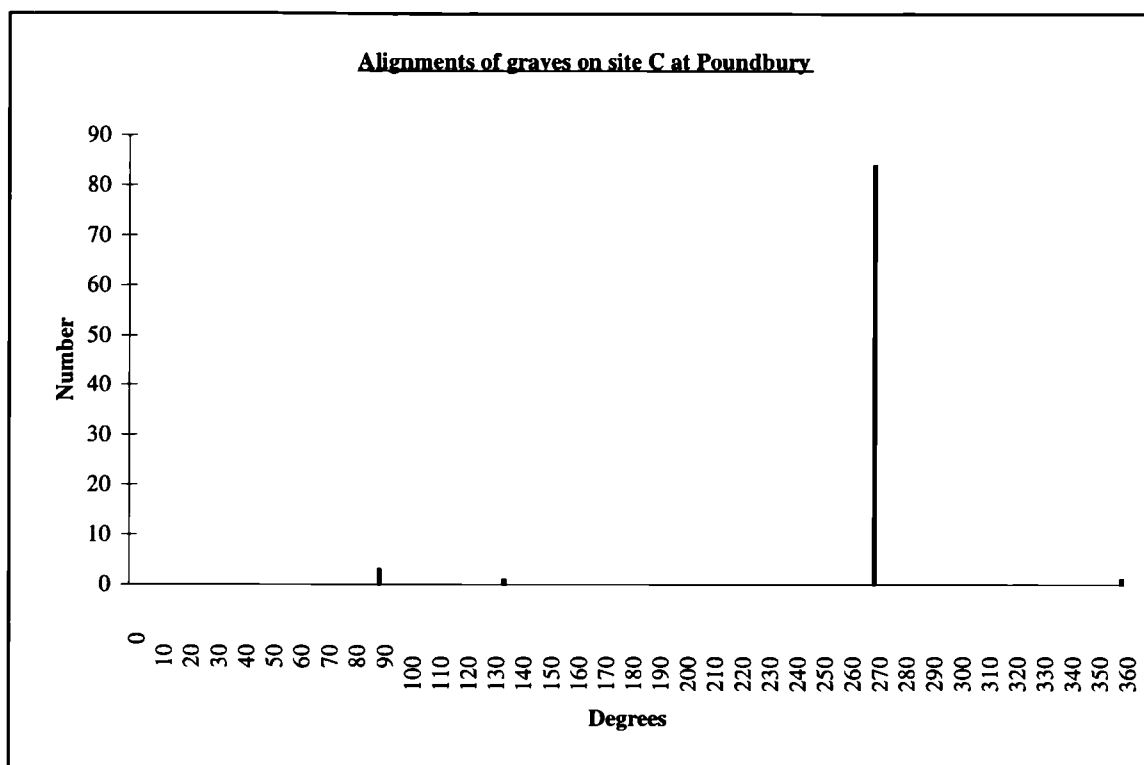
Alignment.

The predominant alignment of graves at Poundbury is west-east. The graph below shows the range of alignments from the site.

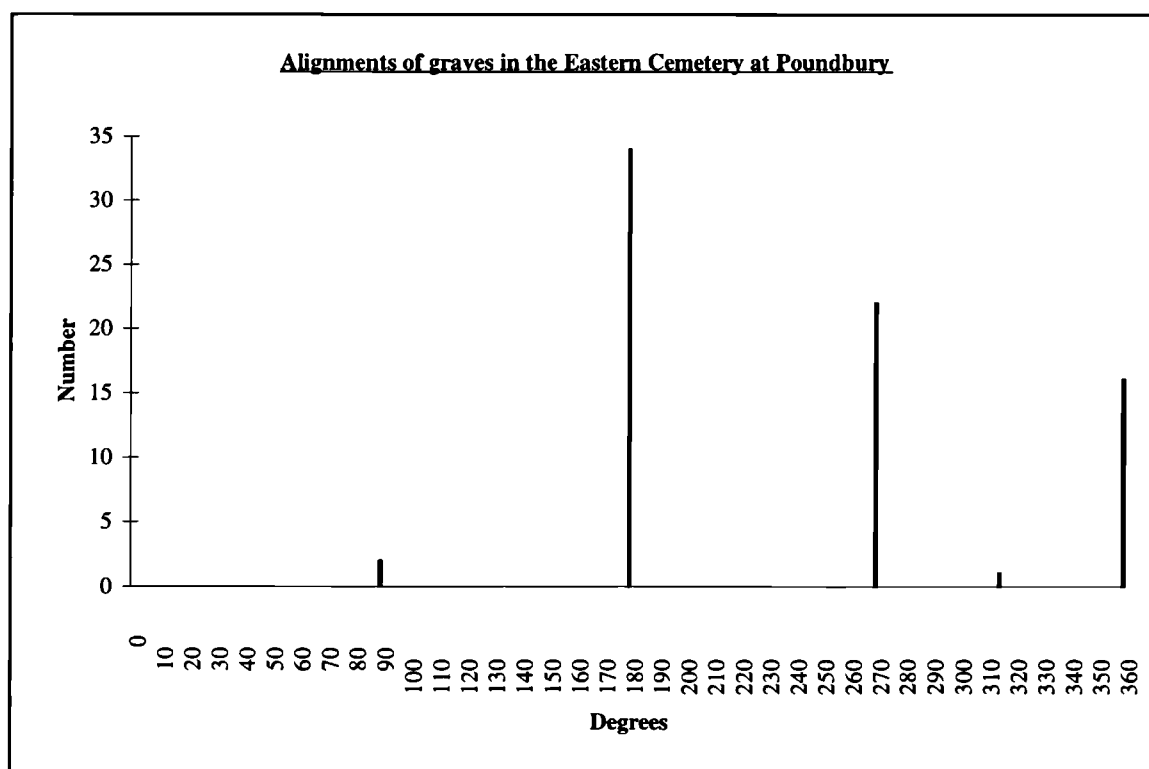


The number of dated graves is too small to draw any firm conclusions regarding any significant change in alignment over time, although it is worth noting that there are a minority of graves in the periphery cemeteries aligned north-south or south-north throughout the period in which the Christian cemetery is in use. This appears to represent the continuation of the developed local 'Durotrigan' rites parallel to the 'Christian' burials in separate areas of the cemetery. The alignments of the different cemeteries are shown in the graphs below.

Site C shows similar groupings of alignments to the main cemetery, with west-east graves predominant, and east-west graves the second largest group. These graves appear to have been roughly aligned with the enclosure boundaries in much the same way as those in the main cemetery (Farwell, 1993, 15), although a few graves have their alignment dictated by their positioning within a structure.

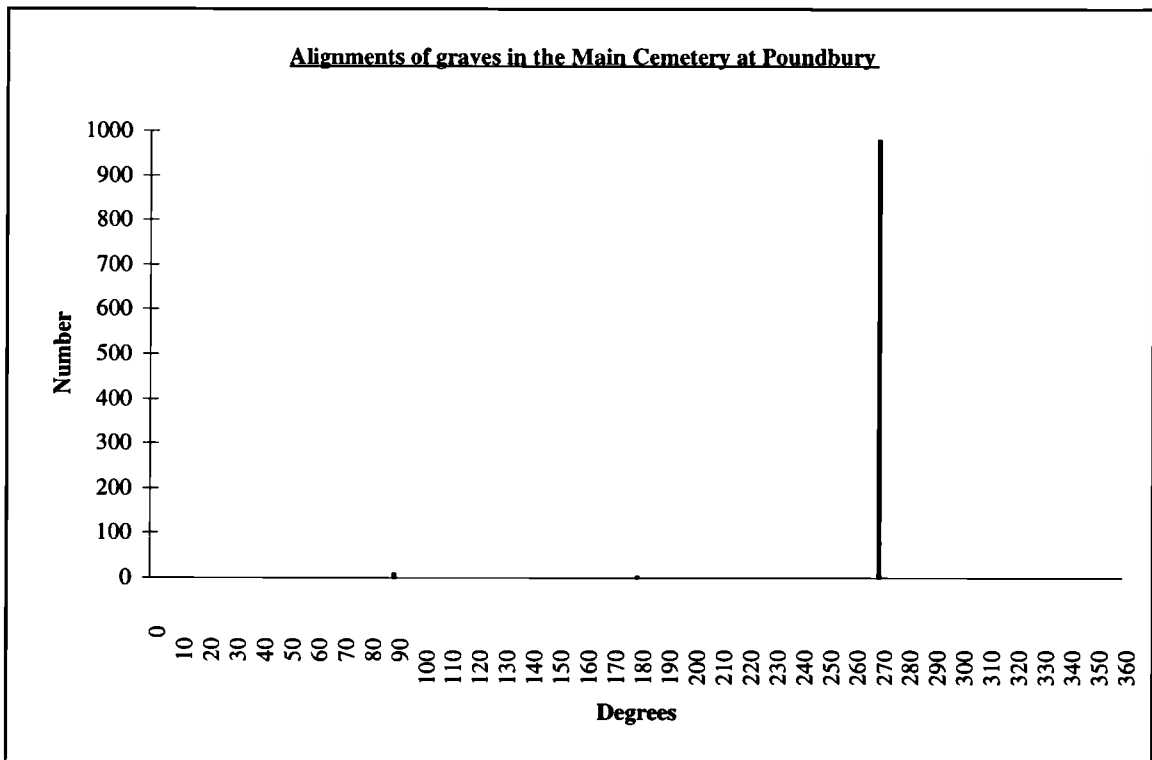


The picture for the eastern cemetery differs from that of the main cemetery, and indeed of all the other cemeteries.

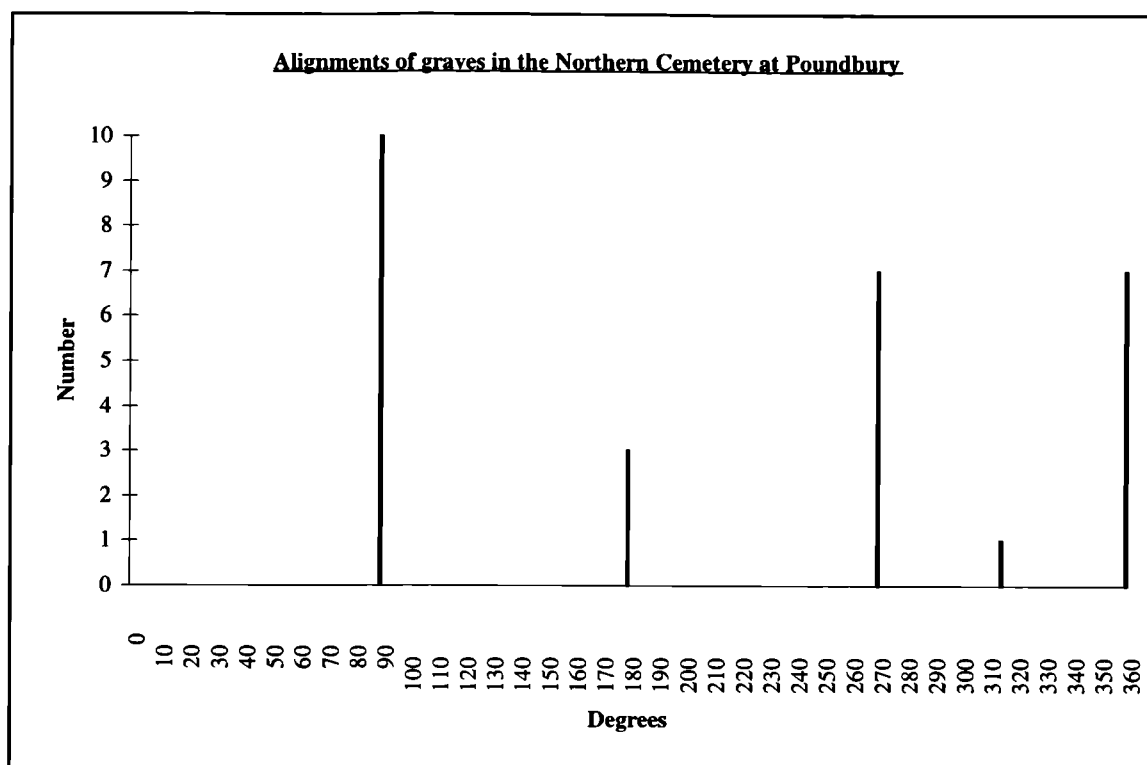


south-north is the most common alignment in this group of graves, with a high proportion also aligned north-south. Again, the predominant alignments appear to be determined by associated boundaries and structures. Interestingly, the graves in this group are aligned both parallel to (north-south/south-north) and at right angles to (east-west/west-east) to these features.

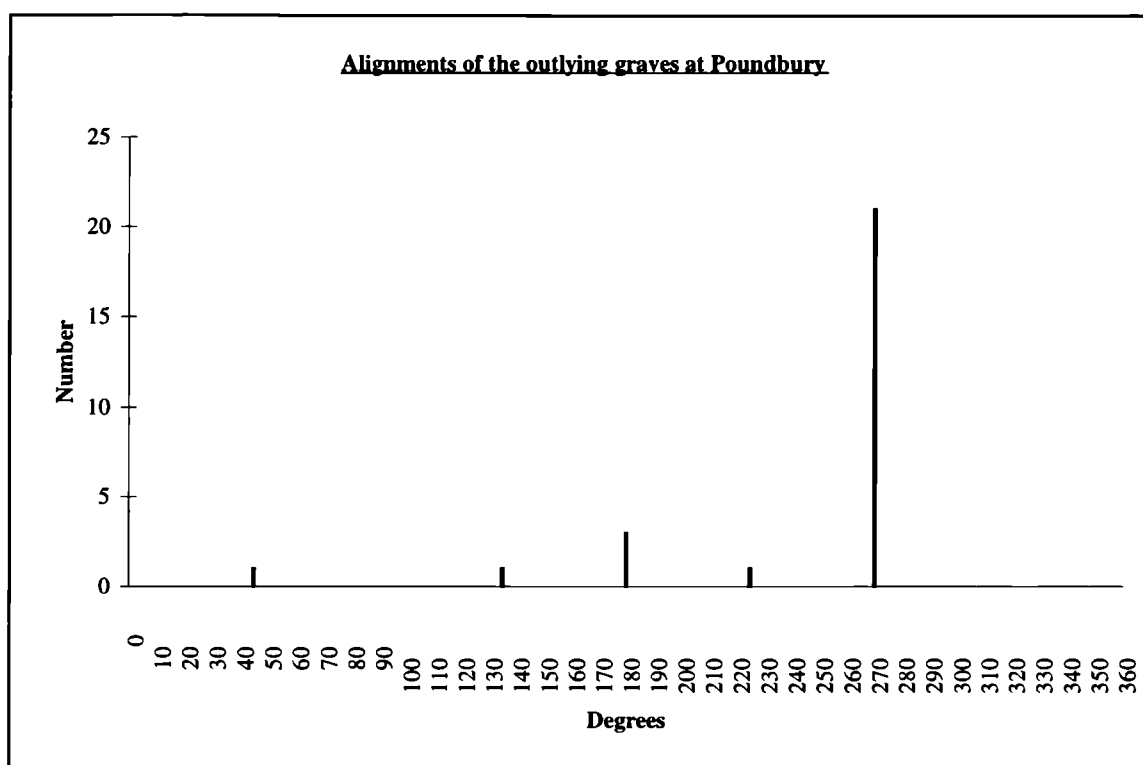
The main cemetery clearly represents the norm against which the periphery cemeteries must be measured. west-east graves form the majority group, with very few differing alignments. These graves also appear to have been aligned in relation to the existing enclosure system (in this case enclosure 2), although the alignments of a small number appear to be determined by the proximity of mausolea.



The northern cemetery of Poundbury contains a wide array of differing alignments, with numbers of graves aligned east-west, west-east and north-south. These graves consist of the group identified in the text (Farwell & Molleson, 1993, 32), and are generally aligned lengthways to enclosure boundaries.



The 'outlying' graves do not belong to a coherent spatial group, but are a collection of graves that do not belong to the main cemetery or to the 'periphery' cemeteries. It is therefore unreasonable to expect a coherent pattern to emerge from this grouping. The majority of these graves are aligned west-east.



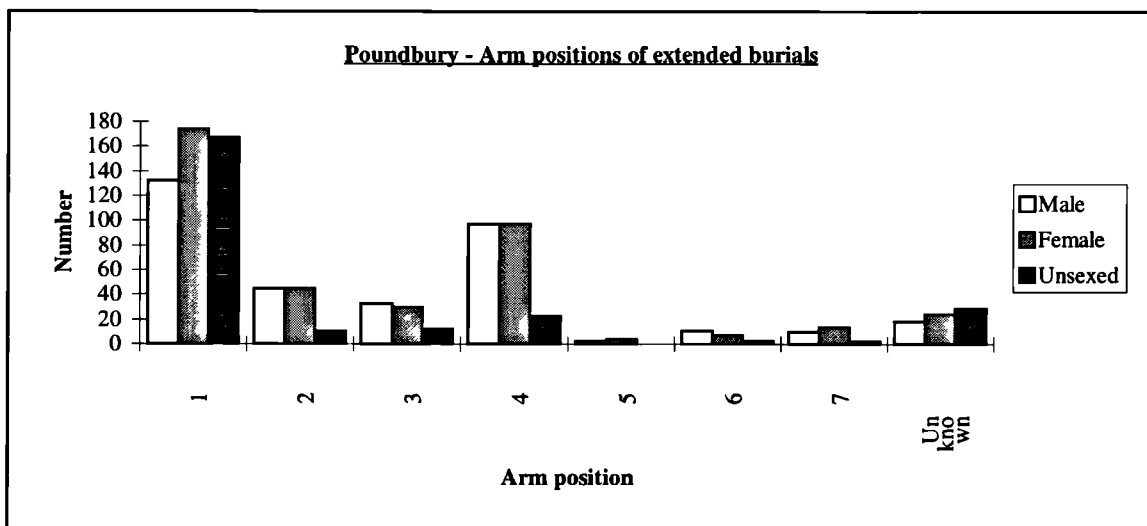
Grave form.

A number of different grave forms were recorded at Poundbury, of which some are sufficiently coherent or unusual to warrant grouping separately from other graves. The majority of the dead are interred in graves containing coffins - over 75% of the total for all of the graves studied. This figure is higher for the graves from the main cemetery, with a corresponding decrease in the proportion of graves with coffins from the 'periphery cemeteries' (or cemetery). Farwell (1993, p. 15) suggests that variations in the depth of graves between the different areas of the cemetery are more likely to represent the result of taphonomic factors than actual differences in practice. However, there are clearly a number of 'outsize graves'. The main cemetery also contains a number of specialised minority rites (mausolea, lead-lined coffins, sarcophagi and plaster burials) which might strengthen its claim to be a Christian cemetery.

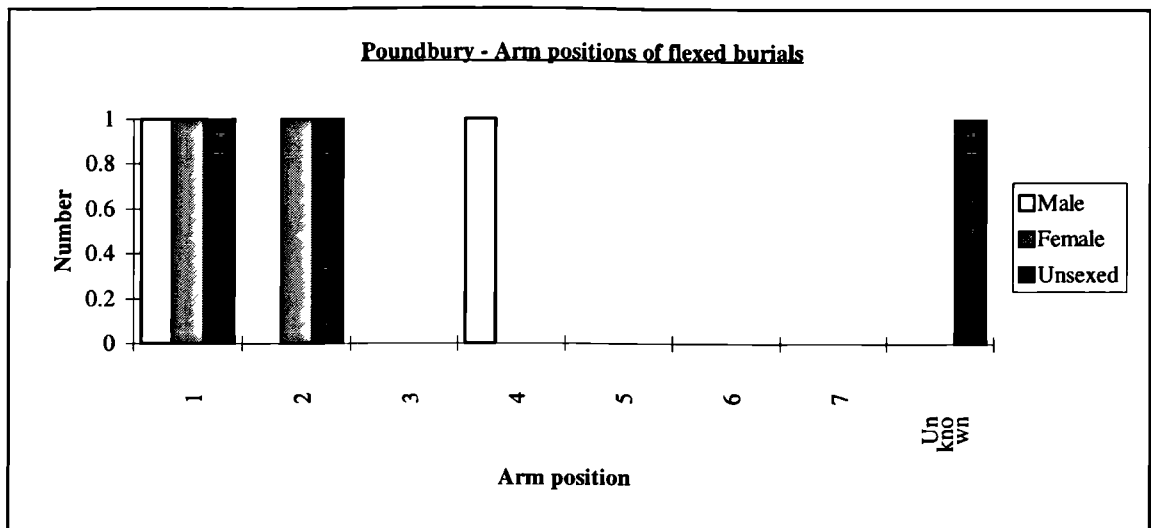
Three of the burials (an adult male and two adult females) appeared to represent intentional decapitations, with the head removed after death by means of an incision from front to back, and in one case the head was placed by the feet. None was furnished.

Body position.

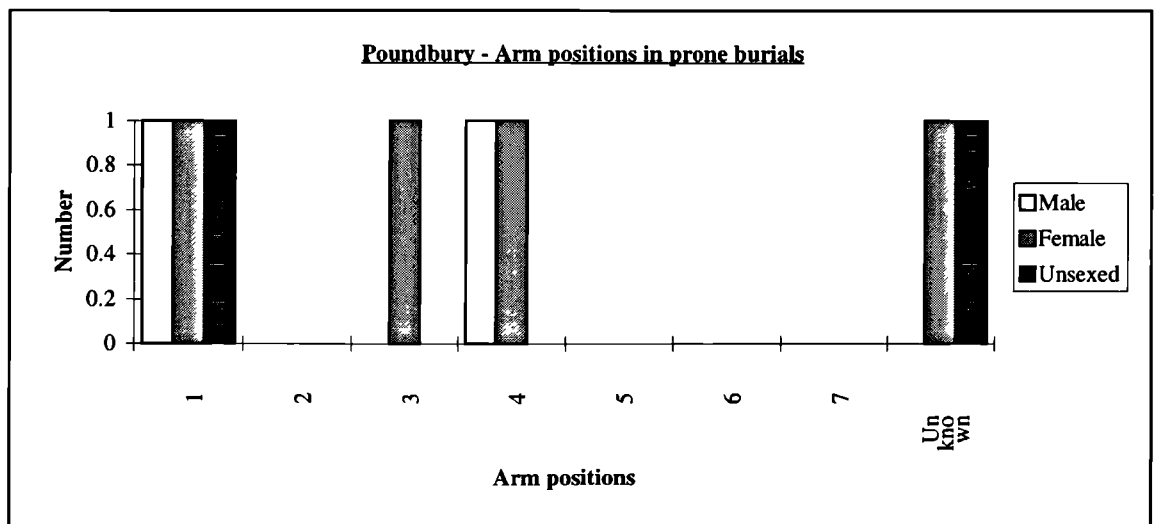
There are a number of different body and arm positions represented at Poundbury. The proportions of these are shown in the graphs below. The majority of burials are extended burials. These show no apparent bias in terms of the proportions of males and females buried in this fashion. There are slightly more female extended inhumations than male (395 to 348), but the number of unsexed individuals (246) is sufficient to make this difference potentially negligible. The most common arm positions for the extended burials are arm positions 1 and 4. There are fewer males than females with arm position 1, and it is here that the numerical difference is evident.



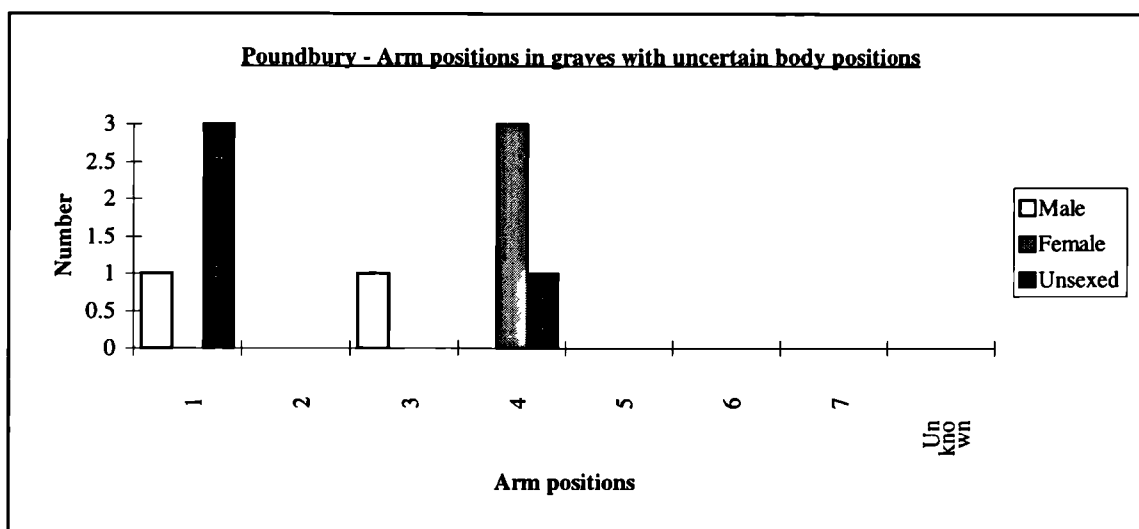
There are too few flexed burials to draw strong conclusions from. These include graves with arm positions 1, 2 and 4. In addition to these burials, the site contained a number of crouched burials. The arm positions of these are unrecorded, and only one is sexed.



The small number of prone burials show a similar pattern to the flexed burials, although there are too few burials to be useful for comparison.



There are a number of graves where the arm position is recorded, but the body position is not. These are shown in the graph below. Again arm positions 1 and 4 are the most common.



The minority practices are generally not numerous enough to provide us with reliable data regarding arm positions. However, the majority rite - i.e. the extended burials - clearly shows that arm positions 1 and 4 are the more common, and that slightly more women than men are buried with arm position 1. Interestingly, most of the minority body positions came from the periphery cemeteries, and notably the eastern peripheral cemetery, which contained the majority of both crouched and prone burials. These forms are rare in the main cemetery, especially in view of the numbers of inhumations involved.

Coffins, sarcophagi and 'plaster burials'.

Of the 1229 late inhumations for which the grave form is well recorded, the majority (1016 or 82.7% of the total) are contained in simple wooden coffins (some of which are surrounded with linings of placed stones). These were predominantly identified through the presence of coffin nails. Adults appear to have been slightly more likely to have been provided with a coffin than children. The proportion of adults to children in these graves is roughly 72% to 28%, (the figures for all of the graves studied are roughly 69% to 31%) and some 87.2% of all adults are buried in coffins, compared to around 72.8% of children. It also appears that there is a disparity between adults and children with regards to the provision of grave goods. Nearly 10% of the adult burials

from the site were buried with grave goods, compared to 6 % of the children. The respective figures for coffined burials are 9.6% and 8.18%. The figure for children is noticeably high, indeed, the only furnished child burials are in buried in coffins.

Only 179 inhumations did not involve the use of any container for the body. Of these, 97 (54.19%) are burials of children . This is the only category in which child burials are more numerous than adults. None of these child burials contain any grave goods, although 8 of the 82 adult burials (9.75%) were furnished. This figure is very similar to the overall levels of adult furnishing on the site.

In addition to these, a number of burials were interred in lead-lined coffins. There are 27 of these lead linings, of which 24 were placed within wooden coffins, one was placed within a stone coffin and one does not appear to have been placed in a secondary coffin. The lead-lined grave identified in 1914-18 and numbered grave 1295 has not been included in this study due to its uncertain identification. The majority of these were also packed with plaster or gypsum. These graves are shown in italics in the table below. The proportions of adults and children buried in lead-lined coffins are very similar to those for the cemetery as a whole (68% for adults and 32 % for children). Only one of these graves is furnished, and may indicate that furnishing in these graves is even less common than for the coffined graves, although the sample size is small.

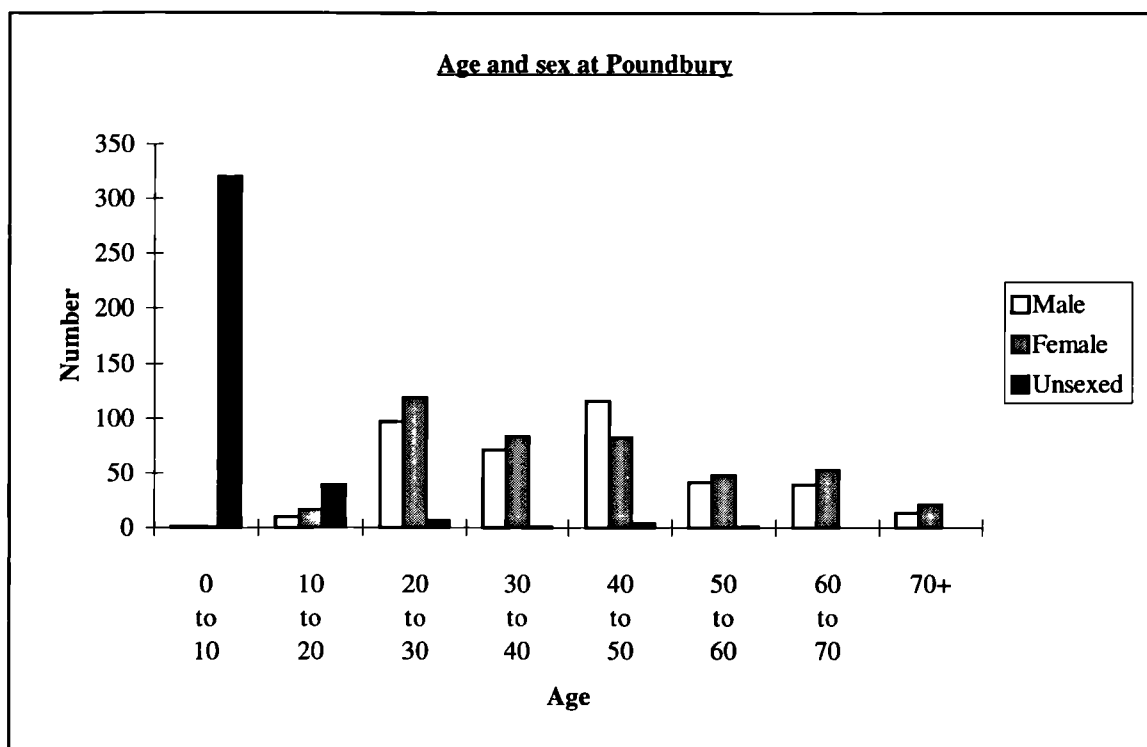
	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	74	8	82	97	0	97	179
Coffined	659 (4)	72	731 (4)	257 (1)	23	280 (1)	1011 (5)
Pb Lined	3 (13)	1	4 (13)	1 (7)	0	1 (7)	5 (20)
Sarcoph.	4 (3)	1 (1)	5 (4)	0	0	0	5 (4)
Total	740 (20)	82 (1)	822 (21)	355 (8)	23	378 (8)	1200 (29)

Nine graves contained stone coffins or sarcophagi. These all contained adult inhumations. The sample is so small that the significance of the two furnished graves in this group is hard to assess.

Twenty nine of the above graves were filled with gypsum/plaster. This practice is most common in coffins, and the proportions of adults and children in these plaster burials (72.41% and 27.59%) are very similar to those of the coffins (72.34% and 27.66%). Only one of these graves is furnished.

Anthropology.

There is no significant anthropological bias towards any section of the population (Molleson in Farwell & Molleson, 1993, p. 170-1), either in the main cemetery or in the peripheral cemeteries. The graph below shows the ratio of males to females in the different age groups. This clearly shows a fairly even proportion of males to females, although there are a number of minor differences in the age groups. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the unsexed individuals fall into the youngest age categories, where accurate ageing and sexing is likely to be more difficult and the preservation of bones is likely to be poorer. Of the burials where the age of the individuals could be identified, some 31.41% were burials of children, compared to 68.59% for the adults. There are small differences in the proportions of males, females and unsexed individuals between the differing areas of the Poundbury excavations. The main differences occur on site c and in the eastern peripheral cemetery, which both have a similar pattern, with children being the most common burials, and men are slightly more common than women (Woodward, 1993, 222-3 & Fig 127). However, both of these include infant burials within buildings, which may represent a different burial tradition, and may not have been intended as part of the cemetery, whilst Farwell (1993, 16). suggests that this may also be partially due to differential erosion across the site.

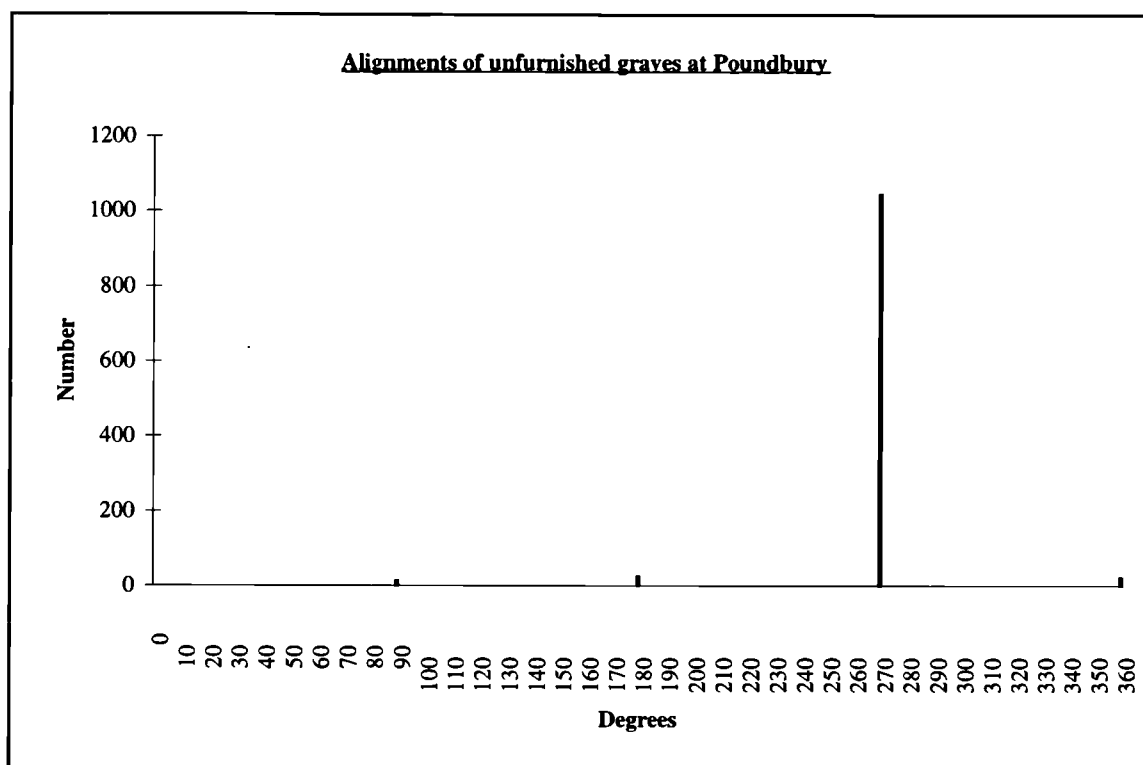


Undated graves.

There are 1242 graves at Poundbury that could not be closely dated. These include all graves which can be viewed as Roman and also those which are viewed as belonging to the latest phase and the post-Roman period, and which could not be closely dated. Of these undated graves, only eighty one contained grave goods of any kind. This leaves some 1161 graves containing no grave goods.

Unfurnished graves.

The unfurnished graves from the site form so great a proportion of the graves on the site that any differences from the picture for the site as a whole will be small. The unfurnished graves are unlikely to show any real deviation from the predominant alignment, especially as they make up a good proportion of the main 'Christian' cemetery. This is evident in the graph below.



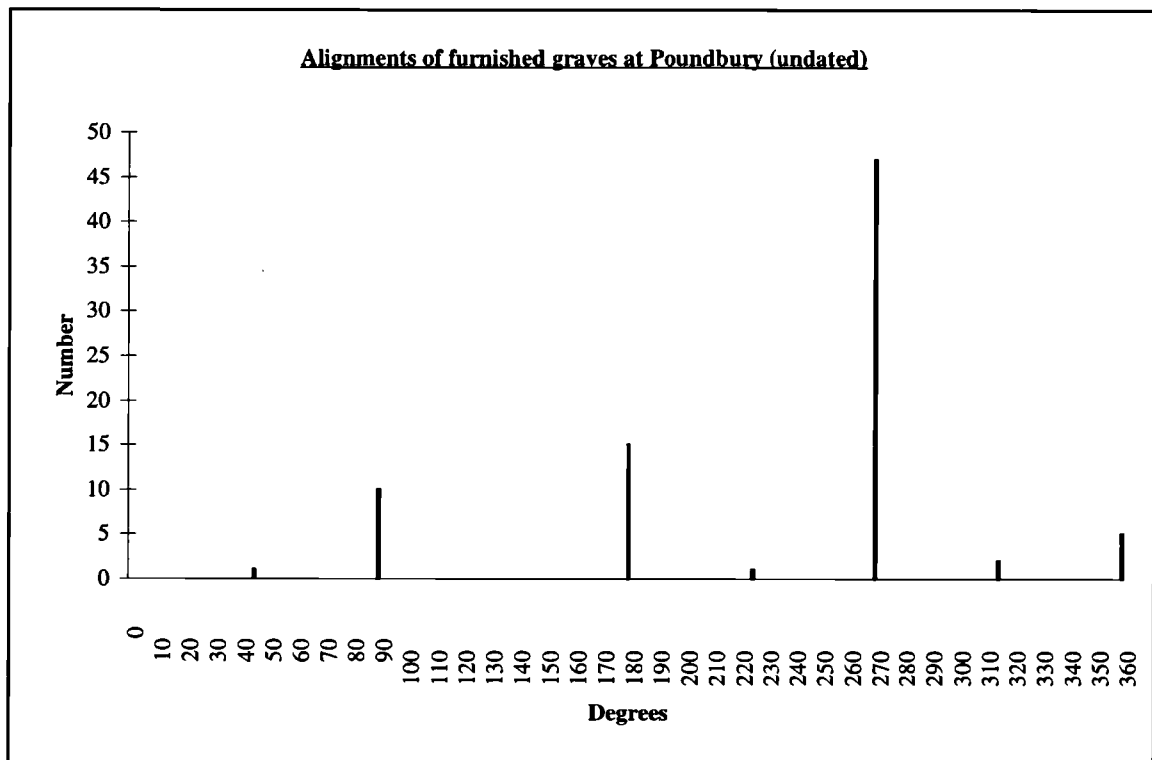
The number of graves that do not belong to this group is so small and the predominance of west-east graves so great that there is little to be gained from an analysis of deviations from the mean for each alignment here. The analysis of furnished grave goods will further deal with any differences in alignment between furnished and unfurnished graves. The same is true of the anthropology and body position. The proportions of unfurnished and furnished graves in the differing grave forms is described above, and will be discussed further below.

Furnished graves.

a. Undated

The analysis of the grave goods differs from the other sites covered by this study in that the percentage of graves containing grave goods even in the periphery cemeteries is so low that burial with grave goods itself forms a distinctly minority rite. Whilst this does not mean that the use of grave goods should be ignored, any conclusions drawn from the analysis must be qualified by this fact. 91.92% of the graves at Poundbury were unfurnished.

Eighty one of the furnished graves could not be closely dated. The alignment of these graves are shown in the graph below. Although the predominant alignment is still west-east, there are also a number of graves aligned east-west and south-north. Although the sample size is small, it may be significant that relatively high percentages of 'unusual' alignments are represented in this group (including the only grave aligned north east-south west, 43% of the east-west graves and 35% of the north-south graves).

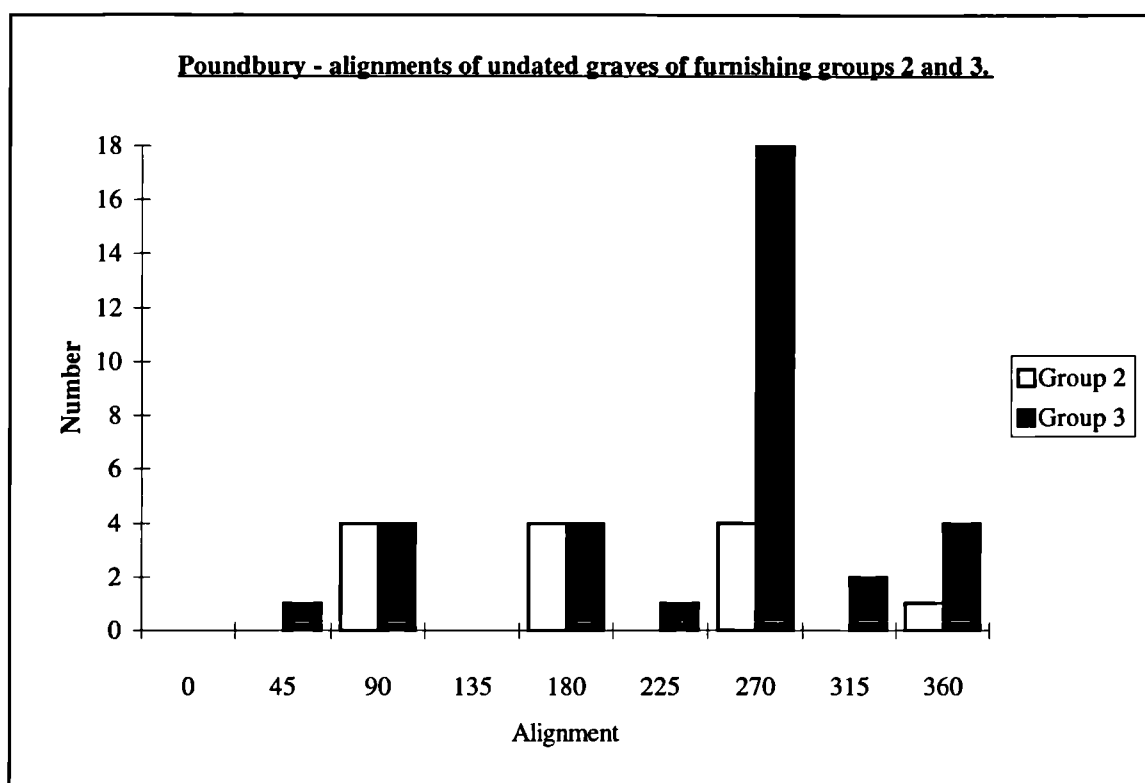


The furnishing types of these graves are shown below (a complete list of these furnishing types can be seen in Appendix 1). The majority of the furnished graves contain one type of grave good only. Only one grave contained a pottery vessel as the only form of grave good. The furnished graves are dominated by those containing personal articles and no other grave goods (Groups 2 and 3). Graves containing unworn personal articles (Group 3) are more numerous than those containing worn personal articles (Group 2), although there are a number of cases where hobnails at the foot end of the grave cannot be positively shown to have been worn and are therefore included in the unworn group. These graves are dominated by graves containing hobnails only or

bracelets only. The hobnails are generally worn or at least recorded at the foot end of the grave. Worn hobnails could indicate that the individual was clothed at burial, but that these were not viewed as deliberate offerings. Unworn hobnails are rare, and when they do occur, their position varies. The bracelets in these graves appear to have been buried predominantly with children and adolescents (seven out of the nine are aged under 20), and are rarely worn. Both of the adults to contain bracelets are female, and one of these contains five worn bracelets. Occasionally these graves contained more than one personal article, and a few graves contained other personal articles.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OVs	Total
1	x							1
2		x						13
3			x					34
4				x				10
5					x			3
7						x		4
8	x	x			x			1
9	x	x						1
12			x	x				6
14				x	x			1
15		x		x	x			1
16		x			x			2
17			x		x			3
18	x		x					1

The alignments of the graves in these two groups is shown below. Both show a diversity of alignments, and only group 3 shows a peak of graves aligned west-east.



Ten graves contain items of equipment only. The most common of these are the bone combs placed near the heads of five inhumations. Four of these five inhumations are positively identified as female. Indeed, where sexing of the individuals is possible, all are female. This includes the two graves containing spindle whorls, both placed under the skull. The other three graves contained a pair of tweezers, a knife and a wooden box. All of these graves are aligned west-east.

Three graves contained animal remains only. Two contained chicken bones (with one of these also containing sheep remains) and the third contained cow remains. Four graves contained coins only. All of these were placed in the mouth of the deceased. The burials were of both male and female adults, were all aligned west-east and were all from the main cemetery.

A smaller proportion of graves contained combinations of grave forms. These generally contained combinations of pottery, personal articles (both worn and unworn) and animal remains, with items of equipment less common as grave goods.

The dated graves.

There are twenty six dated graves, including the two cremations. The following graves could be dated.

Period 1. Graves 370, 543.

Period 1/2. Grave 1421

Period 2. Grave 551.

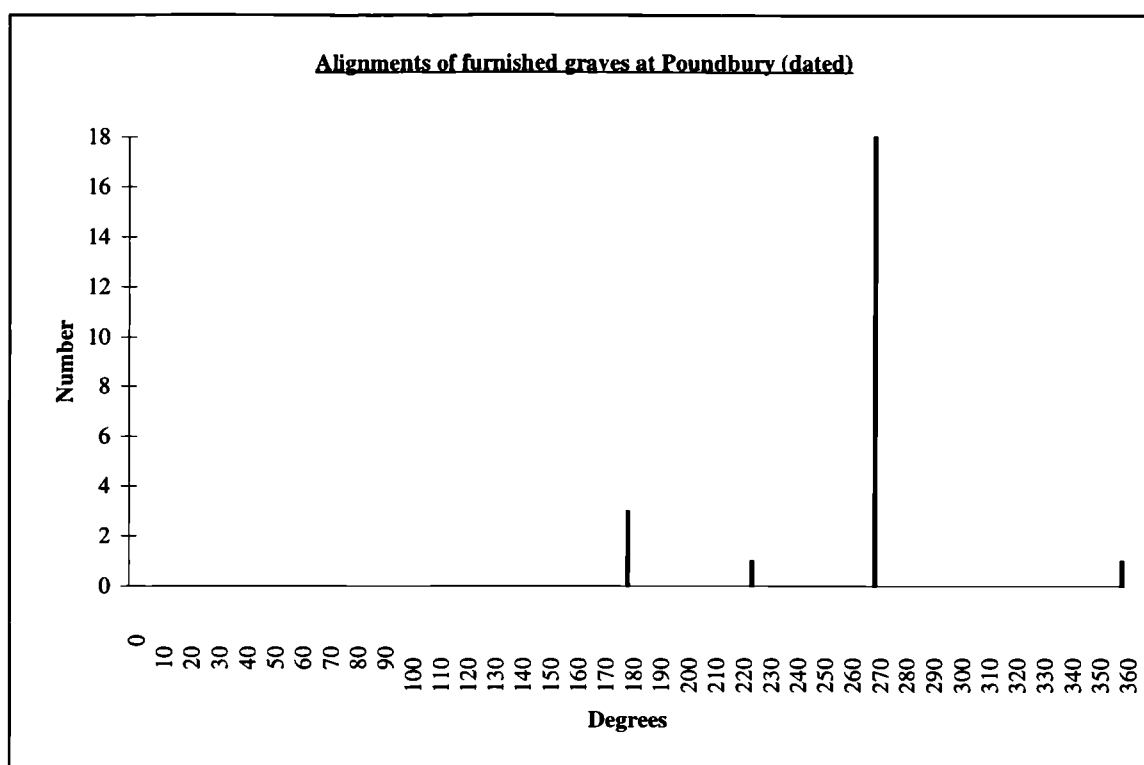
Period 3. Graves 471, 562, 819, 854, 1037, 1050, 1163.

Period 3/4. Grave 386.

Period 4. Graves 16, 479, 631, 658, 707, 734, 750, 755, 756, 957, 1071, 1411.

The latest of the closely dated graves belongs to period 4, which dates to between AD 330 and 364. However, a few of the less well dated graves contain coins in their fill which date to after AD364. It seems likely that the main cemetery spread roughly from east to west, and continued in use into the second half of the fourth century and possibly into the fifth century, and that areas of the periphery cemeteries, although showing no coherent pattern to their burials, also seem to have continued in use into the later fourth century.

The difficulty in dating these graves is a reflection of the small number of furnished graves. Any analysis of the small number of dated graves is inevitably problematical. The alignments are shown in the graph below. Interestingly, the predominant alignment is west-east. This is likely to be a reflection of the predominance of the graves of group 7, all of which are aligned west-east and are all from the main cemetery (see below). There are too few dated graves to enable a practical look at change in alignments over time.



The furnishing groups that these graves belong to are shown in the table below. The majority of graves are of group 7 - and contain coins as their only grave goods.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OVs	Total
1	x							1
4				x				2
7						x		15
10			x			x		3
11					x	x		1
13		x		x				1
19	x				x			1

One grave contains a pottery jug only, and dates to period 3/4. The burial is unsexed, and aligned west-east. Two graves contained items of equipment only. These contained a statue and a spindle whorl respectively, and date to periods 1 and 3. Both were adult females, and aligned west-east and south-north.

The largest group of dated graves is inevitably those containing coins only. The vast majority of these are adults (there is only one exception), and all are aligned west-

east. The coins are usually placed in the mouth or hand of the deceased. Few graves contained more than one deliberately buried coin.

Six graves contained combinations of furnishing groups. Three of these contained both unworn personal articles and coins. All three of these were adults, but the alignments varied. One grave contained both animal remains and a coin. This grave dated to period 1. The burial was unsexed and the alignment unrecorded. Grave 479 contained both worn personal articles and equipment. This burial of an adult female dated to period 4. Grave 1421 contained a pottery dish, and both bird and animal remains. The grave dates to period 1/2 (the second half of the third century).

An analysis of the dates of these groups indicated that the most common, those containing coins only, are confined to periods 3 and 4 (AD 300-AD 364). Indeed, the vast majority of dated graves belong in this date bracket.

The distribution of these furnishing groups across the site is shown in the table below (the dated graves are in bold). The main cemetery contains graves of furnishing groups 2, 3, 4, 7, 10 and 12. These generally consist of a single type of grave goods (generally personal articles, equipment and coins). Only five graves contain more than one type of grave goods - these contain unworn personal articles and either items of equipment or a coin. These graves contain virtually all of the coins, combs and spindle whorls from these graves, whilst containing none of the animal remains or pottery.

The furnished graves within the northern peripheral cemetery contain the most coherent rites of the 'periphery' cemeteries. The graves rarely contain more than a single type of grave good. These consist of pottery, personal articles (both worn and unworn), and animal remains. The single grave to contain more than one form of grave good contained both personal articles and animal remains.

In contrast to this, the eastern periphery cemetery contains a greater diversity of both grave goods and co-occurrences. In addition to pottery, personal articles and animal remains, these also contain a number of items of equipment and in one case a coin. Although the majority of grave furnishing still consists of single items of grave goods, there is a significant minority of graves with more than one type of grave goods.

The graves from site C follow a similar pattern to those from the eastern peripheral cemetery. with similar types of grave goods selected, along with a significant minority of graves containing combinations of these goods.

The furnished graves identified amongst the outlying graves are too few to allow reliable comparisons.

Type	Main	Northern	Eastern	Outlying	Site C	Total
1	0	1	0	0	1	2
2	1	4	6	0	2	13
3	9	8	8	4	5	34
4	9	0	1, 1	0	1	12
5	0	2	0	0	1	3
7	4, 15	0	0	0	0	19
8	0	0	0	0	1	1
9	0	0	1	0	0	1
10	1	0	1	1	0	3
11	0	0	0	0	1	1
12	4	0	1	0	1	6
13	0	0	1	0	0	1
14	0	0	1	0	0	1
15	0	0	1	0	0	1
16	0	4	0	0	0	4
17	0	1	0	0	0	1
18	0	0	1	0	0	1
19	0	1	0	0	0	1

Discussion.

Poundbury is unique amongst the cemeteries studied in that it contains a number of discrete cemetery areas in which the burial practices sufficiently coherent to suggest that there are different but contemporaneous burial practices in the different areas of the cemetery.

The graves in the eastern peripheral cemetery appear to be similar in their furnishing to the Durotrigan burials from the site, with a number of graves containing flexed crouched or prone burials, which are all paralleled in the earlier rite (Chambers, 1978, Fig 4a). However, prone burials belonging to the Durotrigan rite are generally

unfurnished, whilst a number of those in the eastern peripheral cemetery are furnished. The vast majority of furnished graves belong to the graves dug on a north-south axis, with those on an east-west axis generally unfurnished, particularly the group at the southern edge of site D. It may be that the majority of graves identified as belonging to this cemetery represent a developed form of this Durotrigan rite. The cemetery also contains a small number of urned cremations.

The graves from the northern cemetery and Site C contain a greater diversity of both grave goods and furnishing groups. Although the majority of these graves show similar patterns of furnishing to the graves in the eastern peripheral cemeteries, they do contain a significant minority of graves which do not conform to this pattern. These graves contain aspects of burial practice which are present both in graves of the main cemetery and the eastern cemetery. However, the proportion of furnished graves in these cemeteries is considerably higher than in the main cemetery, and it seems more likely that any parallels with burial rites in the main cemetery represent outliers of these rites.

The furnished graves in the main cemetery can be split into two groups: those with parallels in the periphery cemeteries and those with no such parallels. The former consists largely of those graves which contain coins only and some of those which contain items of equipment only. The latter are identified as unusual through the coherence of their practice, with bone combs and spindle whorls usually the items chosen for burial. These are commonly placed by the head, and form a rite virtually unparalleled in the periphery cemeteries. This is also true of the graves containing coins only. These are usually placed singly in the mouth or, more rarely, in the hand. The other furnished graves in the main cemetery do not differ significantly from some of the burials in the periphery cemeteries, although they contain no animal remains or pottery vessels. It is impossible however to ignore the huge proportion of unfurnished graves from the main cemetery, or the significant minorities of specialised grave forms, notably the 'plaster burials', the mausolea and the sarcophagi. The possible identification of the main cemetery as a Christian cemetery is discussed below.

The difficulties with analysing the outlying graves has already been discussed above, and there is little further to add here, although it must be noted that amongst these graves are a few burials within ditched enclosures. These lie in enclosure 4, of which only a small portion was excavated.

In conclusion, it appears that it is possible to identify three distinct rites at Poundbury - that associated with the eastern cemetery (and particularly the graves on a north-south axis), that associated with the majority of graves in the main cemetery, and the slightly less coherent rites associated with those graves in the northern cemetery and on site C. It is possible that the rites identified in the periphery cemeteries are chronologically separate, with one rite succeeding the other. The lack of closely dated graves in these cemeteries make this impossible to prove. There is little to date these graves beyond a few grave goods dated to the late third or fourth centuries AD. Woodward (1993, 219-220) suggests that burial on site C is likely to date to the mid-fourth century, but that the periphery cemeteries could not be dated closely.

Alington Avenue.

Excavations to the south-east of Dorchester revealed both Durotrigan and late Roman burials. There were twelve 'Durotrigan' inhumations identified, largely on the morphology of the graves. The late Roman burials are largely associated with a later phase of a D-shaped enclosure.

The cremations.

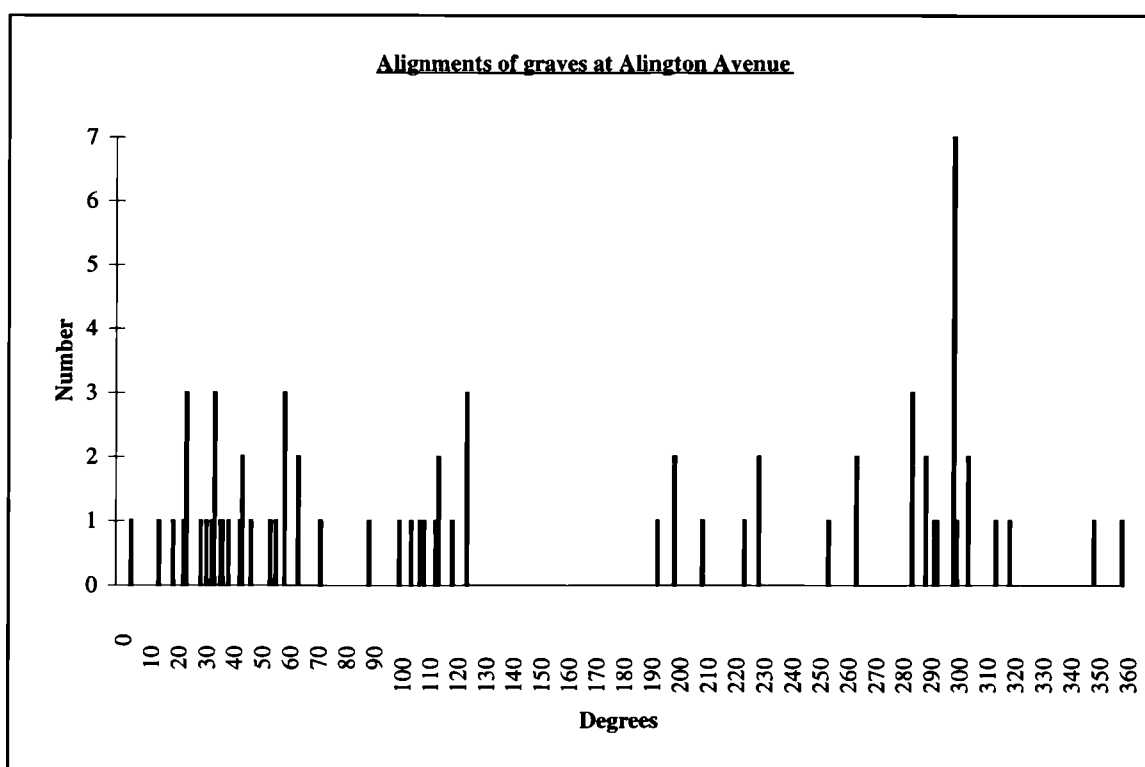
Three urned cremations were excavated in the northern extremity of the D-shaped enclosure. The pottery from these graves have been identified as Black Burnished ware vessels dating to the mid second century AD. All three were adults, one of which was male. The only grave goods other than the vessels were a shoe stud in one grave and cremated animal and bird bones in another.

The inhumations.

The majority of inhumations on the site are dated to the late Roman period. In all, some 97 graves are studied here as late Roman or potentially late Roman. However, of these graves, few could be closely dated.

Alignment.

The graph below shows the range of alignments from the site. There is a great diversity of alignment, with peaks of graves aligned roughly north-north-east to south-south-west and west-north-west to east-south-east. The array of alignments encountered may be a reflection on the dispersed nature of the groups of graves.



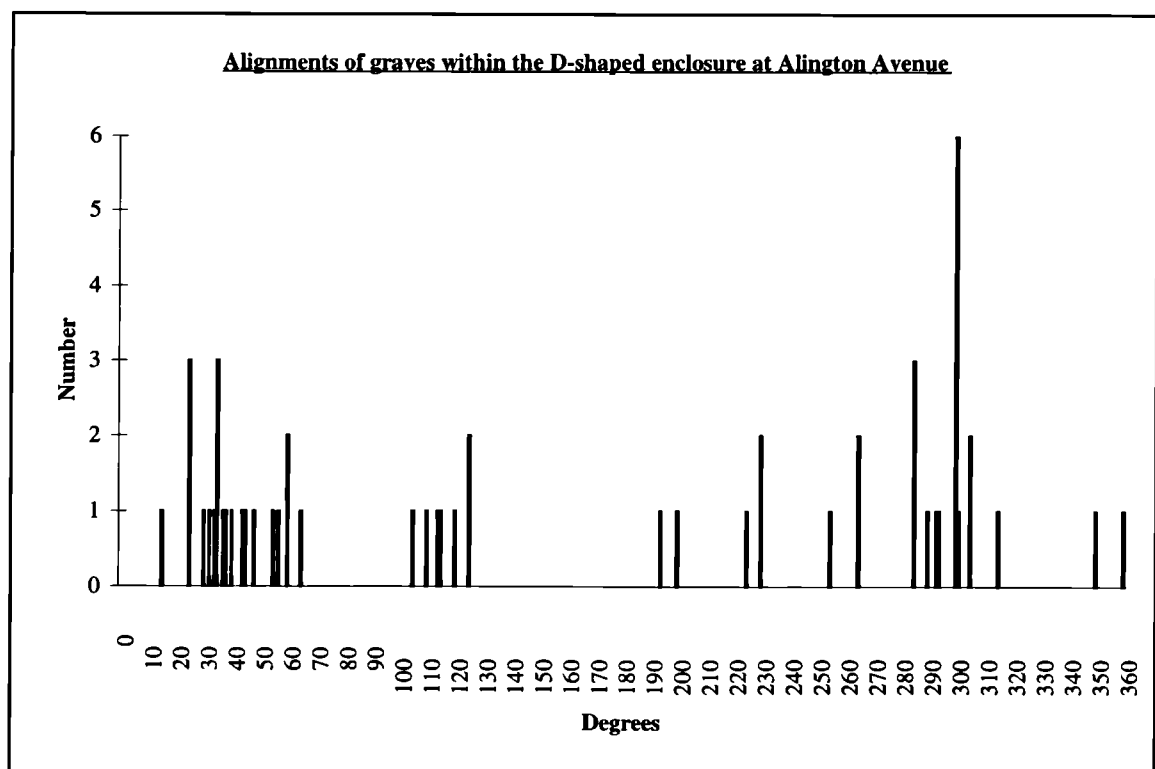
The picture for the graves within the D-shaped enclosure is only slightly clearer, and shows the same peaks of alignment as the site as a whole. The peaks can largely be

explained by comparing the grave alignments with those of the enclosure boundaries.

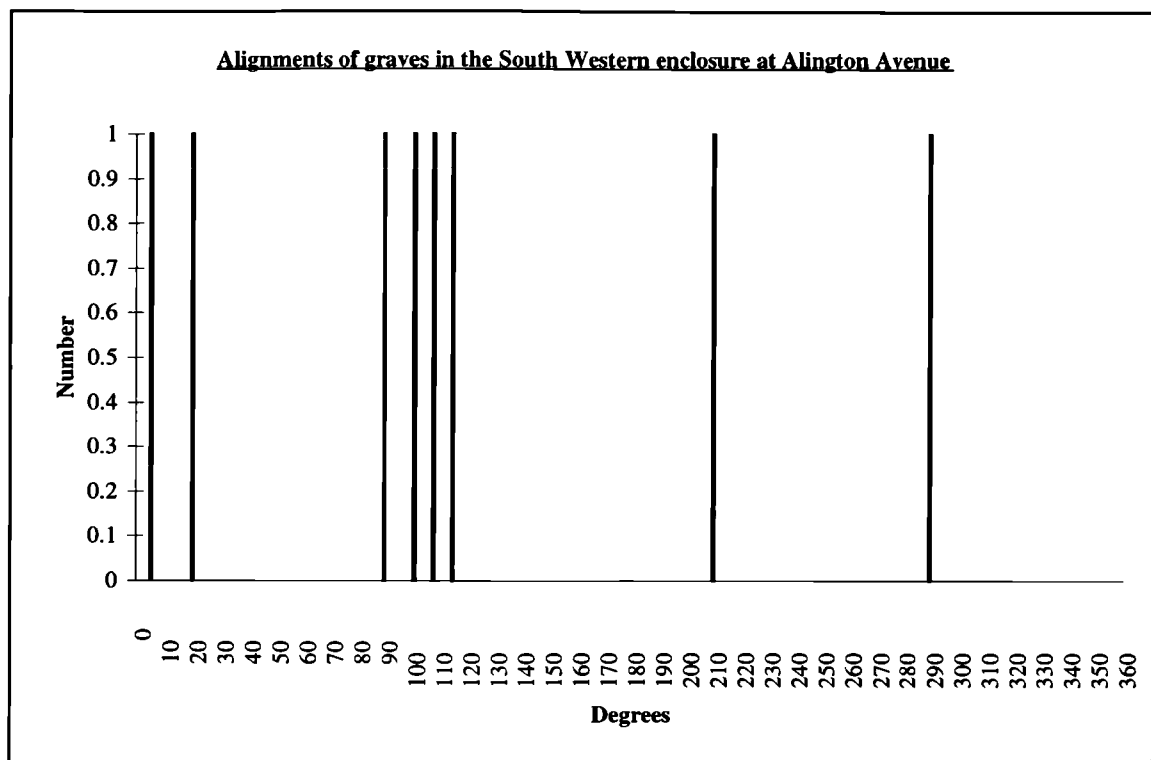
The two main boundaries along which these graves are aligned run:

- a. in a curve from north-east to south west (i.e. *circa* 45°/225°). The curvature in this ditch could explain the slight variations in the adjacent graves.
- b. roughly west-north-west to east-south-east (i.e. *circa* 292.5°/112.5°). This boundary is straighter.

The peaks of grave alignments correspond to these alignments, with graves aligned roughly around 45° more common than those around 225° and graves aligned roughly around 292.5° more common than those around 112.5°. At the eastern end of the enclosure, a number of graves appear to have been aligned in respect to wall footing 3651, which runs roughly north-north-east to south-south-west (i.e. *circa* 22.5°/202.5°). Unusually, graves are aligned both lengthways and at right angles to this feature, whilst they are generally aligned only lengthways to the boundary ditches. It is possible that the wall footing and the graves at right angles to it may form the remains of a mausoleum. There is a second wall footing that may form a return wall for 3651.



The second coherent group of burials lie a short distance to the south west of the D-shaped enclosure, but within a later extension to this enclosure. These also appear to have been aligned according to the southern boundary of the D-shaped enclosure and the western boundary of the extension. These relationships are less coherent than those in the D-shaped enclosure. The alignments of the south-western group of burials are shown below.



The outlying graves at Alington Avenue are not a coherent group, but consist of those graves which do not form part of the two groups identified above. There is therefore little that can be gained by analysing these graves as a separate group. Only graves 2629 and 2621, along with a few of the graves at Trumpet Major, appear to respect adjacent boundaries.

Grave form.

Simple earth dug graves and inhumations within coffins are frequent where the grave form is recorded, with the single lead coffin, the 'plaster burial' and the large

wood lined grave the only exceptions. The grave form of ninety one graves was recorded in detail. Twenty three of these (25.27%) were simple earth dug graves with little evidence for the use of a container for the body. In sixty five graves (71.43%), the dead were interred in wooden coffins. These were identified both through the presence of both coffin nails and wood stains.

Grave 579 clearly does not belong to either of these groups. It is the largest grave on site, had evidence for a wooden lining, and contained the remains of two children, one of which appears to have been buried in a coffin. This grave does not appear to respect the enclosure boundaries in the same way as the surrounding graves do. Grave 4378, a lead coffin, and grave 3664, a 'plaster burial' placed within a wooden coffin with a stone covering, represent the two other forms of burial.

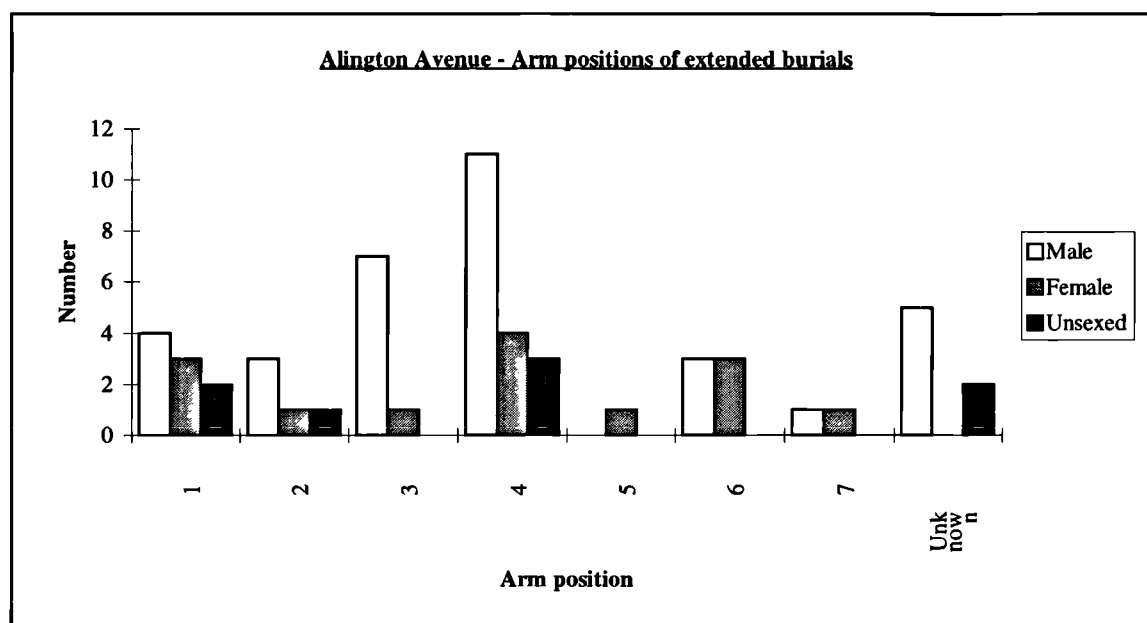
Four of the graves were double burials, with the second inhumation placed above the first in the grave. In the single case where the primary burial was not placed in a coffin, the second inhumation appears to have disturbed the first. One grave contained a possible decapitation, with the head missing entirely from the grave.

The proportions of grave forms differ little in the different areas of burial. The figures for the burials in the D-shaped enclosure do however include the group of infant burials within building 1737, which are likely to belong to a different tradition of burials than the remainder of graves in the cemetery. This group also contains the 'unusual' forms of burial.

Body position.

A number of different body and arm positions are recorded at Alington Avenue. These are shown in the graphs below. Extended burial is the norm in the cemetery. There are thirty five male and fourteen female extended burials. The arm positions of these burials are shown below. Arm position 4 is the most common, with arm positions 1 and 3 also favoured. The predominance of male burials in this group causes an apparent disparity in the choice of arm positions between the sexes. Roughly similar

proportions of male and female burials are buried with arm position 4, although the overall sample sizes are small.



The arm positions of the flexed burials are generally not recorded in detail. One grave contained a male with arm position 4. The two prone burials, a male and female, both have arm position 2.

Coffins and other containers for the body.

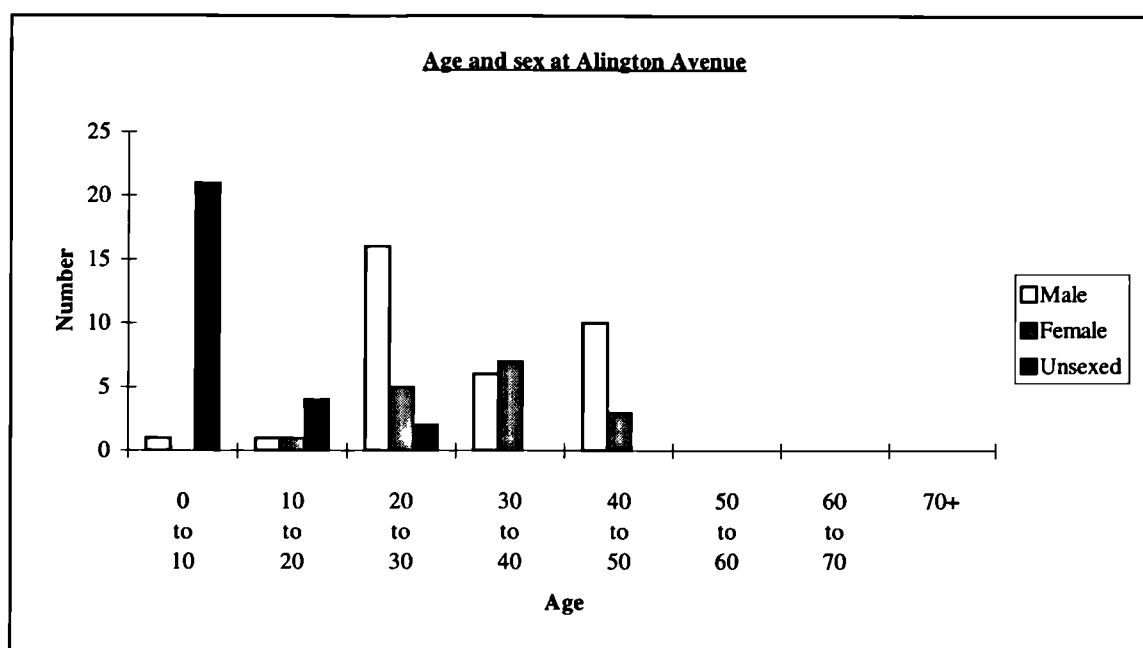
The table below shows the numbers of adults and children provided with coffins and other containers. There are a number of graves where the grave form is recorded, but the human remains could not be aged. Adults appear to have been slightly more likely to have been provided with a coffin than children. The proportion of adults to children in coffins is roughly 81% to 19%, (the figures for all of the graves studied are roughly 74% to 26%) and some 80% of all adults are buried in coffins, compared to around 52% of children. The figures for grave furnishing appear to indicate that grave goods are buried more commonly with adults than children. Some 63.1% of adult graves are furnished, compared to 21.7% of the children.

Of the 21 burials in simple earth-dug graves, only four are furnished. Burials in earth dug graves seem to be less likely to be furnished than those in a container. The single plaster burial (in italics) contains an adult female, whilst the lead coffin and wood lined pit both contained children. The plaster burial and lead-lined coffin both contain grave goods.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	11	2	13	6	2	8	21
Coffined	13	38 (<i>1</i>)	51 (<i>1</i>)	10	2	12	64
Pb Coff.	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Wood lined pit	0	0	0	2	0	2	2
Total	24	40 (<i>1</i>)	64 (<i>1</i>)	18	5	23	87 (<i>1</i>)

Anthropology.

The numbers of aged and sexed individuals are shown in the graph below. Because of the way in which these graves have been aged, there are no individuals in the older age groups. The majority of infants, children and juveniles are unsexed, and more adult men are buried than women. The peaks of death are roughly between 0 and 10, 25 and 35 and over 45 years of age. The infant burials within building 1737 are included in these figures, and will influence the 0-10 age group. There is no anthropological bias shown by any of the other areas of burial.

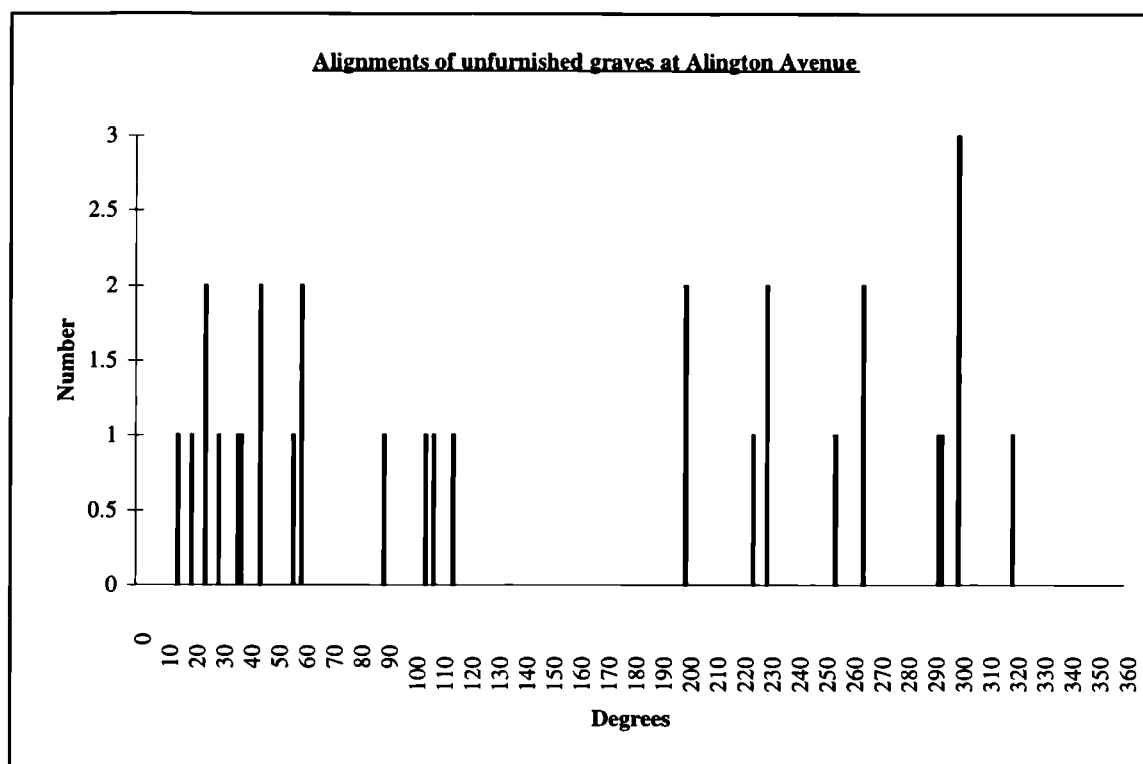


Undated graves.

There are very few graves at Alington Avenue that could be closely dated. A number of graves can be relatively dated through their stratigraphic relationships, but few contain closely dated grave goods. However, it is clear that there are two or three phases of cemetery use, which can be studied. There are fifty unfurnished graves, of which a small number can be roughly dated according to their stratigraphic relationships.

Unfurnished graves.

The unfurnished graves form a slight majority of the excavated graves. It has already been established above that unfurnished graves are less likely to have been placed in coffins, and are more likely to contain burials of children rather than adults. The alignments of these graves (shown below), do not differ significantly from the overall pattern. These graves are distributed more or less evenly throughout the site, and are not confined to a particular area.



Furnished graves.

Because only one of the graves from the site could be dated closely - grave 1245 could be dated to AD320 to 340 - all of the furnished graves will be studied together. However, a small group of graves within the D-shaped enclosure are clearly earlier than the majority of the late Roman cemetery, and contain grave goods which suggest a second- or third-century date for them. The furnishing groups of all these graves are shown in the table below.

The group of third-century inhumations consists of five furnished graves and some nine unfurnished graves. These graves are often disturbed by later inhumations. Most were aligned in relation to the boundaries of the D-shaped enclosure. Six of the burials appear to have contained coffins, although many of the other burials are too disturbed to establish the likelihood of coffin use. Men, women and infants were all identified.

The furnished graves contain combinations of pottery, worn personal articles, animal remains and coins. Two contain pottery only and worn personal articles only, whilst the other three contain different combinations of these grave goods. All of the

personal articles are worn hobnails. The positions of pottery vessels vary, although two of the coins are placed in or near the mouth. The coins in these graves which could be dated belonged to the first and second centuries, but could have been deposited as late as the second half of the third century AD. Strictly speaking, these graves are likely to predate the period of study, but are included because they provide a precursor to the later cemetery.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	C2 - C3	Late main	south-west group	Outly
1	x							1	1	1	
2		x						1	23	3	1
3			x						1		
5					x				1		
6							x		1		
9	x	x							1		
16		x			x				1		1
19	x				x				1		
20	x				x		x		1		
21	x	x			x	x		1			
22	x			x		x			1		
23	x	x				x		1			
24		x				x		1		1	1

Most of the later graves were buried in the D-shaped enclosure. 32 of these graves were furnished. As with the rest of the graves in this area, these are predominantly aligned along the enclosure boundaries. Most of these graves contain worn personal articles only, all of which are worn hobnails. Three graves contain unworn personal articles, animal remains and other vessels only. The remaining five graves contain combinations of these grave goods, along with pottery vessels, and in one case a coin. Pottery appears to be more common in graves where combinations of grave goods occur. The only exception to this is a grave where pottery forms the only furnishing, but the burial belongs to the group within building 1737, and may not be related to the late cemetery.

Certain patterns can be identified in the positioning of the grave goods within the grave. All of the worn personal articles are hobnails, worn on the feet. Vessels are generally placed alongside the head, whilst the animal remains are often placed by the legs and feet. In graves where there are combinations of grave goods, they are often placed in a group, the position of which is often determined by the use of pottery. In two of the four graves to contain coins, a single coin is placed in the mouth of the deceased.

Both the 'plaster burial' and the burial within the lead-lined coffin are furnished. Both contain combinations of grave goods, with the plaster burial particularly well furnished - it contains a pottery jar, two glass vessels, a pewter vessel and lid and fish remains, all of which are placed around the head, along with both worn and unworn hobnails (placed by the feet). The jar was placed on top of the sandstone lid over the coffin and may have belonged to a later burial. The lead-lined coffin contained a child aged between 4 and 6 years, and contained a jar, an iron bar and a coin. There was also strong evidence for high quality textile remains which showed evidence for purple dyes. Both of these graves contain levels of furnishing which would suggest relatively high status burials. The unusually large grave, grave 579, contained at least one confined inhumation, again of a child, furnished with a glass vessel. The nature of the pit, which may have been wood-lined, suggests that it may have functioned as a mausoleum.

Both of the prone burials lay within the main D-shaped enclosures, and both were furnished, with hobnails and animal remains respectively. Interestingly, the burial of an adult dwarf in a wooden coffin (grave 2663) was also furnished, with hobnails. There is no apparent anthropological bias towards furnishing graves, either in the D-shaped enclosure or in the south-western and outlying groups.

These graves in the main cemetery could rarely be dated closely, although the general range of dates of the grave goods suggests that the graves date to the third century or first half of the fourth century.

A smaller group of graves were buried within a later extension to the south-west of the main enclosure. Five of these graves were furnished, and show very similar trends to the graves examined above. One contained a single pottery vessel (placed by the

head), three had worn hobnails as the only grave goods and the fifth contained both worn hobnails and a coin placed in the mouth.

The remainder of the late Roman burials are grouped together as 'outlying' graves. These contain five furnished graves, all of which conform to the established pattern. All five have worn hobnails, with three also containing animal remains placed alongside the body and a fourth having a coin placed in its mouth.

The late Roman graves at Alington Avenue clearly appear to represent a developed form of the earlier inhumation rites (i.e. both the 'Durotrigan' rites and the small group of graves likely to date to the late second century or early to mid third century). There is little evidence to suggest that the burial rites of the different areas of represent different practices. Indeed, the indications are that the rite changes very little in coherence, and that if there is a chronological change in burial from the main enclosure to the south-western enclosure, this does not appear to affect the burial rite.

Lankhills.

Excavations on the outskirts of Winchester uncovered some 451 late Roman burials, of which the majority were inhumations. Much of the analysis undertaken in this study is based upon that undertaken in the publication of the site (Clarke, 1979), and it is not intended to repeat this here. Instead, the following represents a summary of Clarke's findings.

Cremations.

Seven of the burials were cremations. Three were urned, two un-urned and two in large pits, one of which may have been an *in situ* cremation. None of the urned cremations contained grave goods additional to the cinerary urn. All were roughly dated, with the urned cremations dating to throughout the fourth century and the unurned and 'large' cremations dated to the second half of the fourth century.

Inhumations.

Of the inhumations, some 408 were analysed in detail.

Alignment.

A detailed analysis of the alignments in conjunction with the stratigraphy and chronology suggested a gradual shift in alignment over time. The vast majority of graves are aligned in a range from 225° to 294°, with these two extremes representing the ends of both the spatial and chronological confines of the excavated cemetery. Graves with alignments closer to the south-west (225°) tended to occur in the western areas of the site whilst those aligned closer to the west (270°) were more common on the eastern half of site. In the latest (and easternmost) area, graves of unusual alignment were more common. This area, 'area O', was dated to after AD 390.

Grave form.

The majority of burials were within coffins (some 83% of the excavated inhumations), a number of which were identified through survival of wood alone. The study also indicated that in the group of graves dated to after *circa* AD 390, the use of coffins dropped significantly. There was no obvious difference between the different sexes in the provision of a coffin, although adults were clearly more likely to have been buried within a coffin than children (Clarke, 1979, 142-3). The decline in the use of coffins at the end of the fourth century appears to reflect the increase in stone- or tile-packed graves during the same period. Four inhumations lay within rectangular enclosures, all of which appear to have had an access point to the east. One grave contained an empty wooden coffin, above which a dog skeleton was found. This was interpreted as a cenotaph.

Body position.

The majority of burials were extended, with their legs straight, with small proportions prone, and placed on one side. These showed little difference between the sexes, although a high proportion of the 'unusual' body positions appear to date to after AD 370 (Clarke, 1979, 139). The most common arm positions are arm positions 1, 3 and 4, with arm position 1 more common amongst women and arm positions 2, 3 and 4 more common in men. It also seems that the straight arm position is less common after AD 390 (Clarke, 1979, 141). In seven of the burials, the head of the deceased was removed and placed by the legs or feet.

Anthropology.

An analysis of the age and sex of the burial population indicated that slightly more men than women were amongst the burial population, with 201 out of the 284 aged individuals aged seventeen or older. The analysis suggested that the graves east of feature 12 (i.e. the graves dating to the fourth century) contained a higher proportion of male burials, whilst those to the west of this feature (dating to the end of the fourth century onwards) contained a higher proportion of women.

Unfurnished graves.

There is no specific analysis of the unfurnished graves, although the overall study established that male graves were slightly less likely to be unfurnished than female and that the graves of children were less likely to be furnished than adults (Clarke, 1979, 147). It appears that some 36.8% of the graves were unfurnished, and that this proportion increased over time.

Furnished graves.

The analysis of grave furnishing established that there was a wide variety of grave goods with the dead. Pottery vessels and personal articles were common, with items of equipment and coins also fairly frequent as grave goods. The most common grave goods are hobnails, which are both worn and unworn, although Clarke is reluctant

to view these as personal articles (Clarke, 1979, 153). Clarke split the furnished graves into eight groups - i. Graves with coins, ii. Graves with vessels, iii. Graves with unworn personal articles, iv. Graves with coins and vessels, v. Graves with coins and unworn personal articles, vi. Graves with vessels and unworn personal articles, vii. Graves with coins, vessels and unworn personal articles, viii. Graves with worn personal articles (also including coins, vessels, or unworn personal articles). All of these could also co-occur with hobnails, items of equipment and animal remains. The majority of graves belong to Clarke's groups i, ii and iii. The chronology suggested that these represented successive furnishing fashions, with graves with vessels dating to before AD 350, those with unworn personal articles to AD 350-370 and those with coins to after AD 370. Clarke also suggested that the graves containing worn personal articles are likely to represent an influx of foreigners *circa* AD 350, with a further, less coherent group of six burials possibly indicating a Germanic element appearing *circa* AD 390. The characteristics of the graves with worn personal articles are:

- a. provision of personal articles and vessels, occasionally with equipment, animal remains and coins
- b. a consistency in the presence and positioning of these objects
- c. crossbow brooches and belt sets in male graves, with necklaces and bracelets in female burials
- d. Vessels at the feet, with rarely more than two present
- e. Equipment, when provided, usually in the form of knives and spindle whorls
- f. Coins never in the mouth. (After Clarke, 1979, 384)

West Tenter Street, London

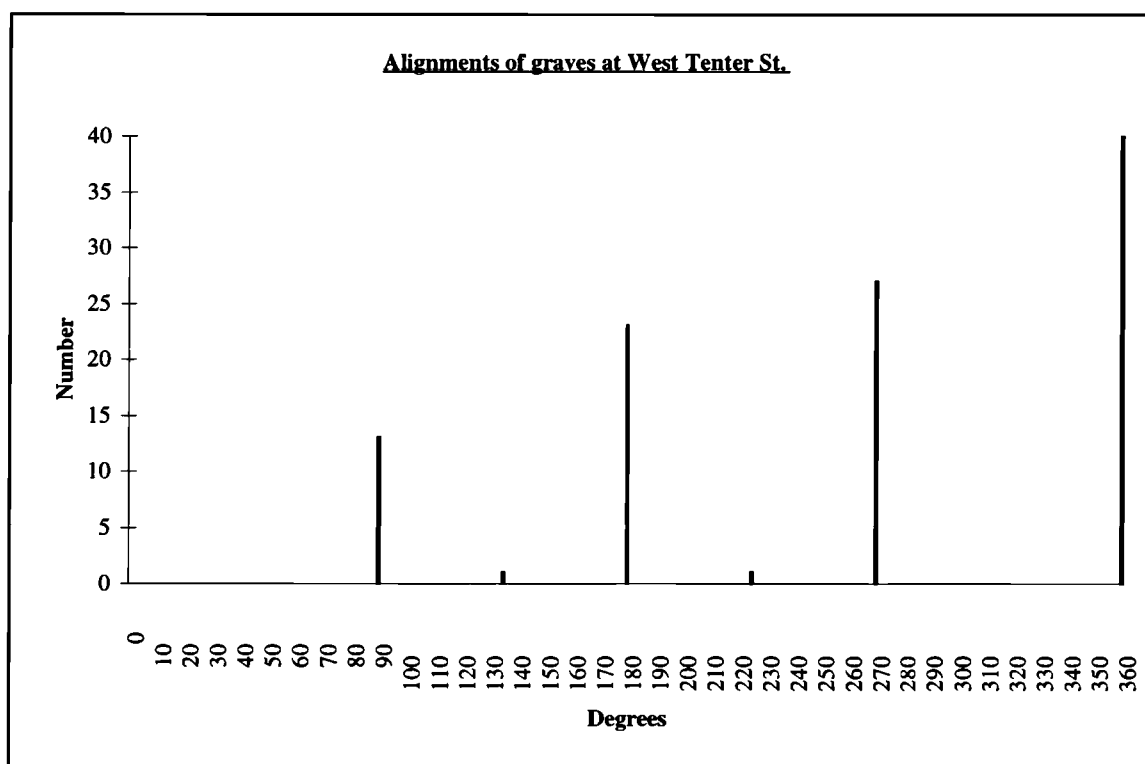
Excavations to the east of Roman London uncovered part of one of the roadside extra-mural cemeteries. 120 inhumations and 14 cremations were uncovered. The cremations and a number of the inhumations dated to the second and early third centuries.

The inhumations.

The majority of inhumations on the site appear to date to the late Roman period. In all, some 112 graves are studied here as late Roman or potentially late Roman. Few of these were well dated.

Alignment.

The recorded alignments of the graves from the site are shown below. There are four major peaks of alignment. All but two of the burials share a west-east or north-south axis. Burials with the head to the north and west respectively are more common.



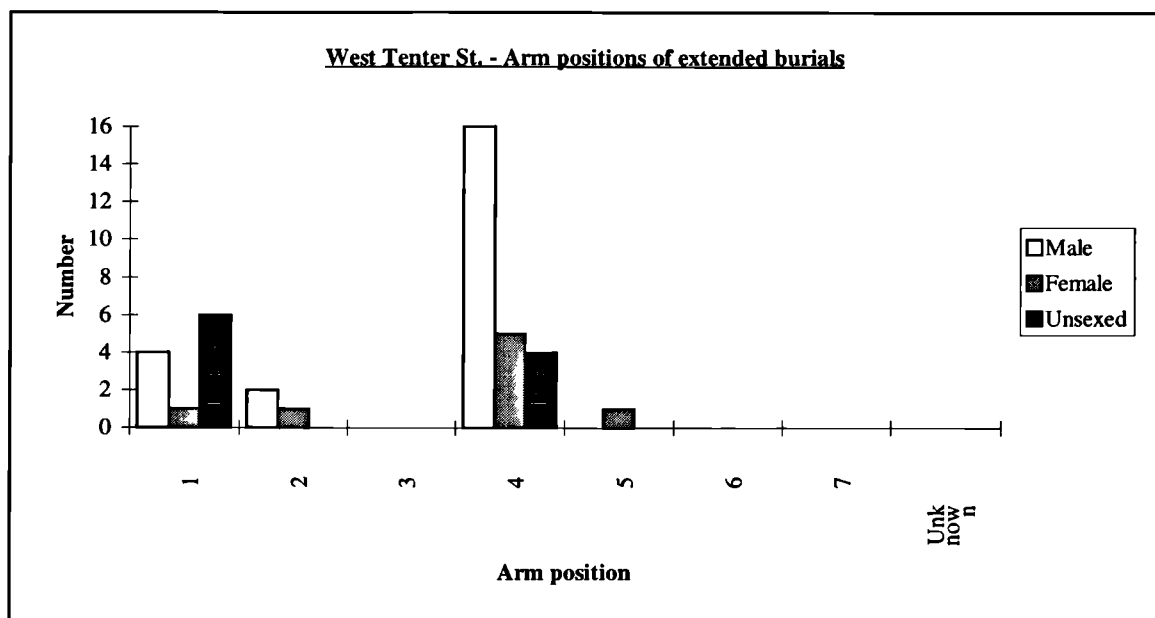
Grave form.

The forms of a number of the inhumations from the site are unclear. However, of the graves that are recorded, 61 contained coffins, of which eight also contained a

'plaster' or gypsum packing around the body, and a further two were reinforced coffins. The twelve other recorded graves contained no container for the body.

Body position.

All of the burials for which the body position is recorded are extended inhumations, with only the arm positions differing. These arm positions are shown below. Arm position 4 is the most common. The disparity between the number of male burials and female burials with the different arm positions are a reflection of the overall ratios of the sexed burials.



Coffins and other containers for the body.

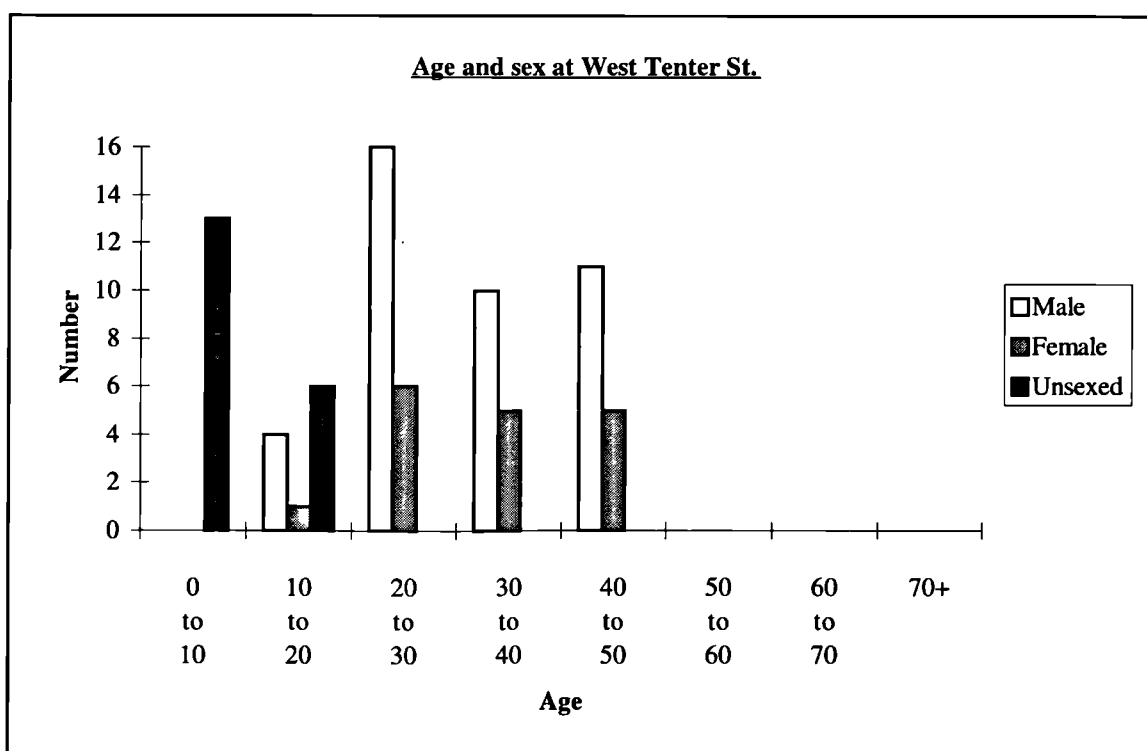
The table below shows the numbers of adults and children provided with coffins and grave forms. There are a number of graves both where the form of the grave is not recorded and where the grave form is recorded, but the human remains could not be aged. The plaster burials are shown in *italics*. Although the numbers of un-coffined graves are small, a higher proportion of the graves containing coffins appear to be furnished. It also appears that a higher proportion of children are buried in coffins (and

in the 'plaster burials') than adults. However, similar proportions of adults and children in coffins are furnished (20% and 21% respectively).

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	9	1	10	1	0	1	11
Coffined	27 (2)	9 (1)	36 (3)	11 (3)	3 (1)	14 (4)	50 (7)
Total	36 (2)	10 (1)	46 (3)	12 (3)	3 (1)	15 (4)	61 (7)

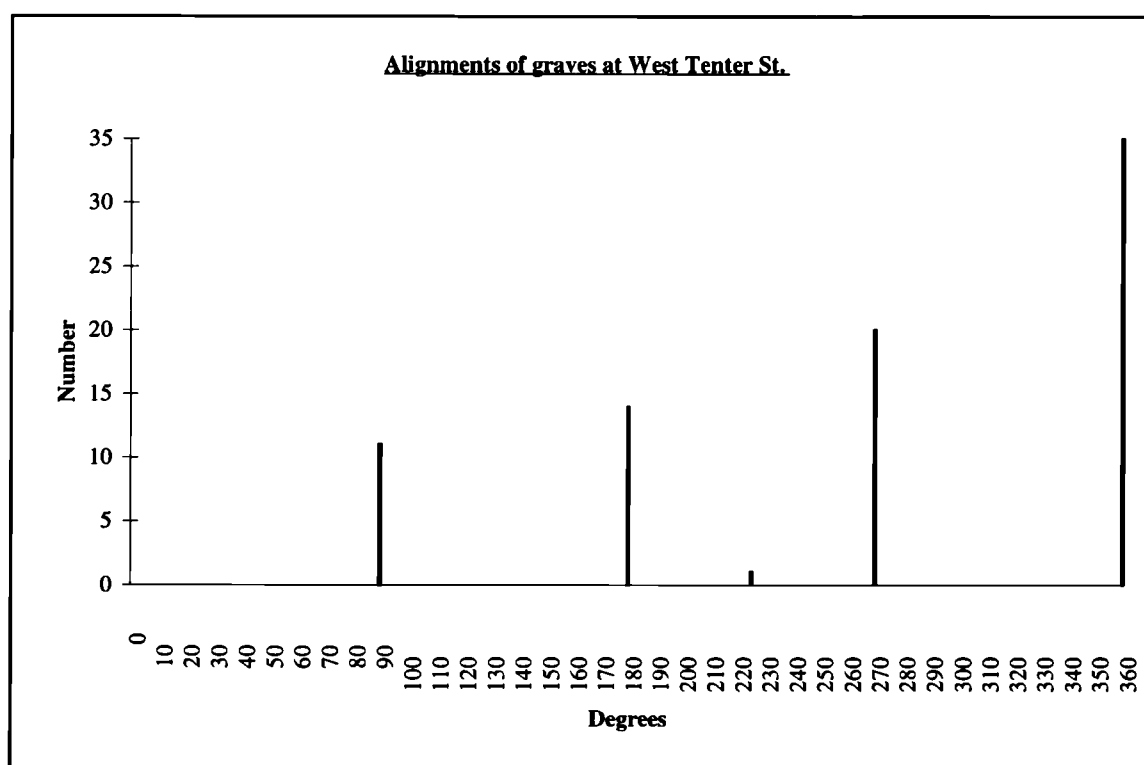
Anthropology.

The numbers of aged and sexed individuals are shown below. Due to the method of ageing the dead, there are no individuals in the older age groups. The majority of unsexed burials are infants, children and juveniles. More adult men are buried than women. The main peak of death lies in the 20 -30 age group. There are more males identified than females.



Unfurnished graves.

The unfurnished graves form the majority of the excavated graves (85 of the 112 graves contain no grave goods). The study of grave form above has established that the use of coffins is associated with a slightly higher level of grave furnishing, although the grave forms of a number of these unfurnished graves are not well recorded. The graph below shows the alignments for these unfurnished graves, which show little change from the picture for the site as a whole.



Furnished graves.

Eight of the 27 furnished graves were dated. These indicate that the cemetery remained in use into the second half of the fourth century AD. However, they are too few to enable a serious examination of changes over time.

Period 1/2. Graves 506 and 1117.

Period 2. Graves 493, 528 and 570.

Period 3/4. Grave 919.

Period 4. Graves 141 and 270.

The general levels of furnishing are low, with few graves containing more than one form of furnishing. The table below shows the furnishing types of these graves. Pottery, personal articles and coins dominate the furnishing of these graves. The position of many of the grave goods are not recorded. This is largely responsible for the large number of unworn personal articles. Where the positions of the personal articles are recorded, they are generally worn - the personal articles involved are necklaces, finger rings, an anklet and worn hobnails. Indeed, hobnails dominate the personal articles, although the positions of these are rarely recorded. Coins are also common grave goods, although again the positions of these are not usually recorded.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Und	Pd 1/2	Pd 2	Pd 3/4	Pd 4
1	x							2	1		1	
2		x						2				
3			x					7				
5					x			1				
7						x		4		3		1
9	x	x						1				
18	x		x						1			
22	x			x		x		1				
28	x						x					1
51	x		x				x	1				

Furnished graves only form a minority of the burials at West Tenter Street, and generally contain few grave goods. Combinations of grave goods are rare, with personal articles numerically the largest group of grave goods. Unfortunately the analysis is limited by the poor recording of many of these items.

Oudenburg.

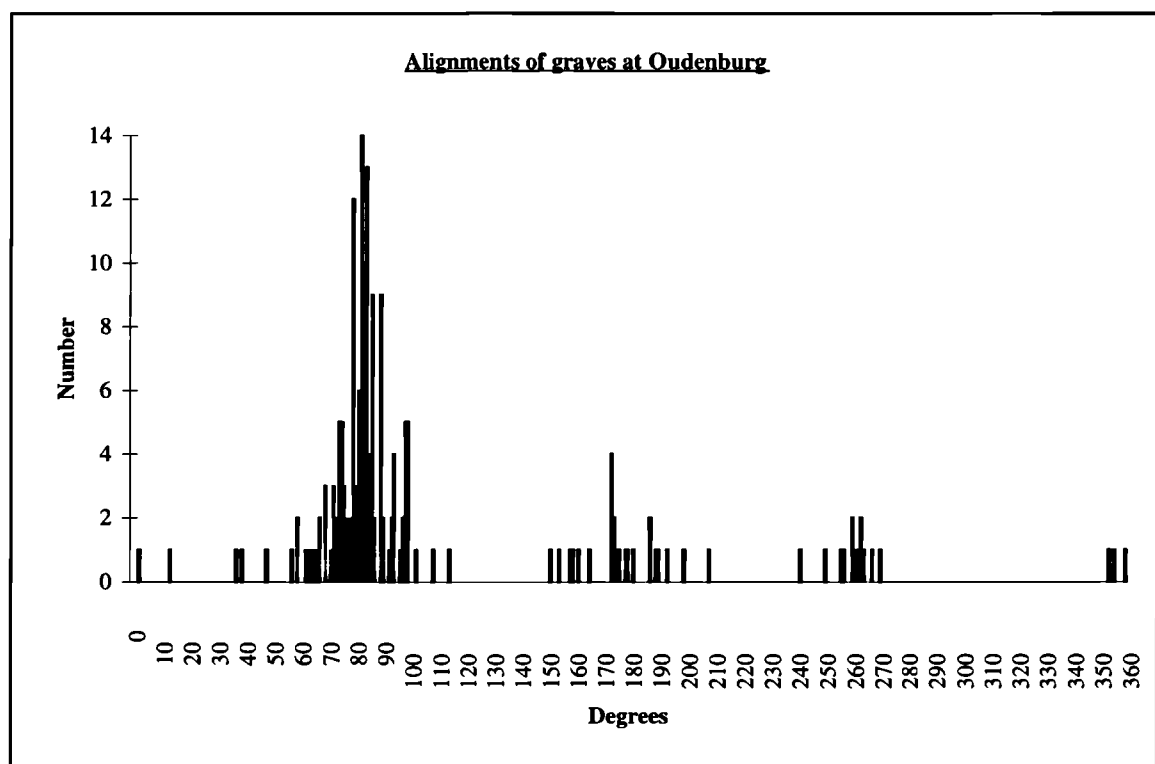
The site consists of 216 graves excavated between 1963-4 and in 1968. The cemetery lies to the west of the fort at Oudenburg. There appear to have been 2 distinct

cemeteries. The southernmost of these was the first to be discovered, in 1962, and the second was revealed by subsequent excavations.

The inhumations.

Alignment.

The predominant alignment at Oudenburg is roughly east-west. There are a few graves with differing alignments, notably a small group aligned roughly south-north.



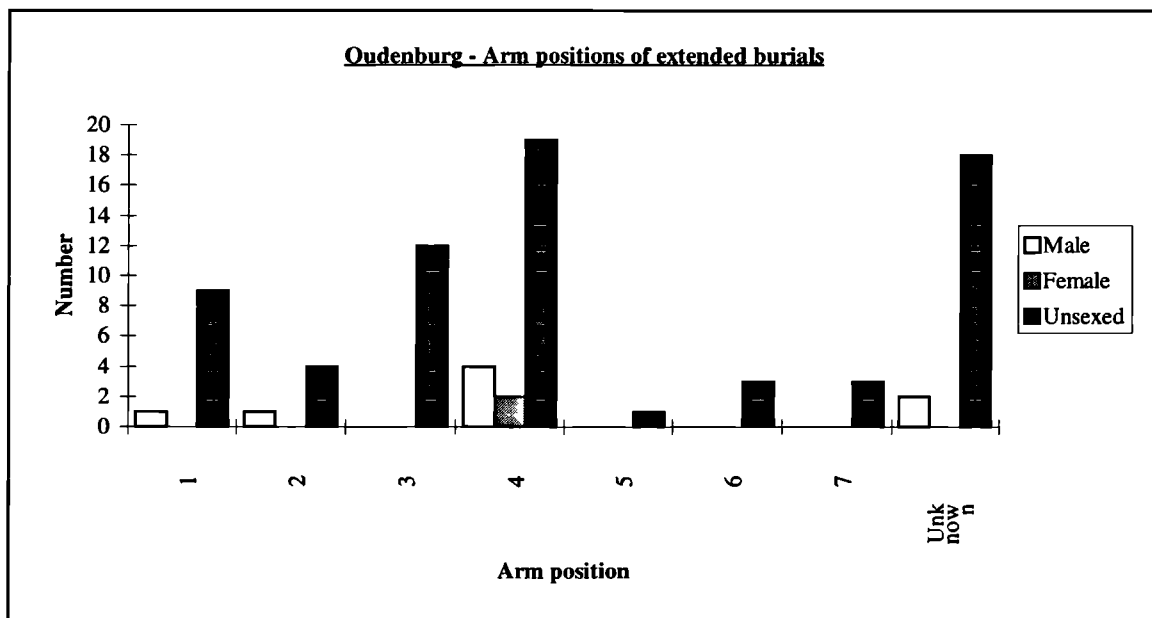
The small group of graves aligned roughly west-east had graves dug along roughly the same axis as the majority of the graves, but have the head placed at the opposite end of the grave.

Grave form.

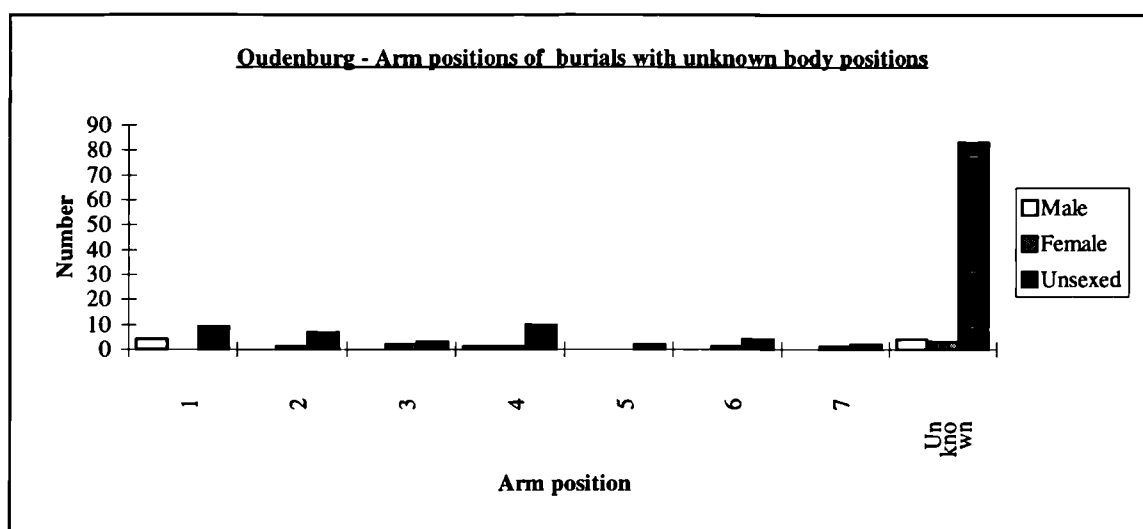
Where the form of the grave is recorded, it is apparent that slightly over 70% of the graves at Oudenburg contained coffins, and the rest were buried in simple earth dug graves. There are no unusual grave forms from the cemetery.

Body position.

The body positions at Oudenburg do not vary much. Where the body position is well recorded, the dead are always extended, and the only variants are the arm positions. The numbers of these are shown in the graphs below. Arm positions 1 and 4 were the most common overall, with smaller proportions of arm positions 2, 3, 5, 6 & 7.



There are too few sexed individuals amongst these graves to make any judgement of any differences between the sexes.



Coffins.

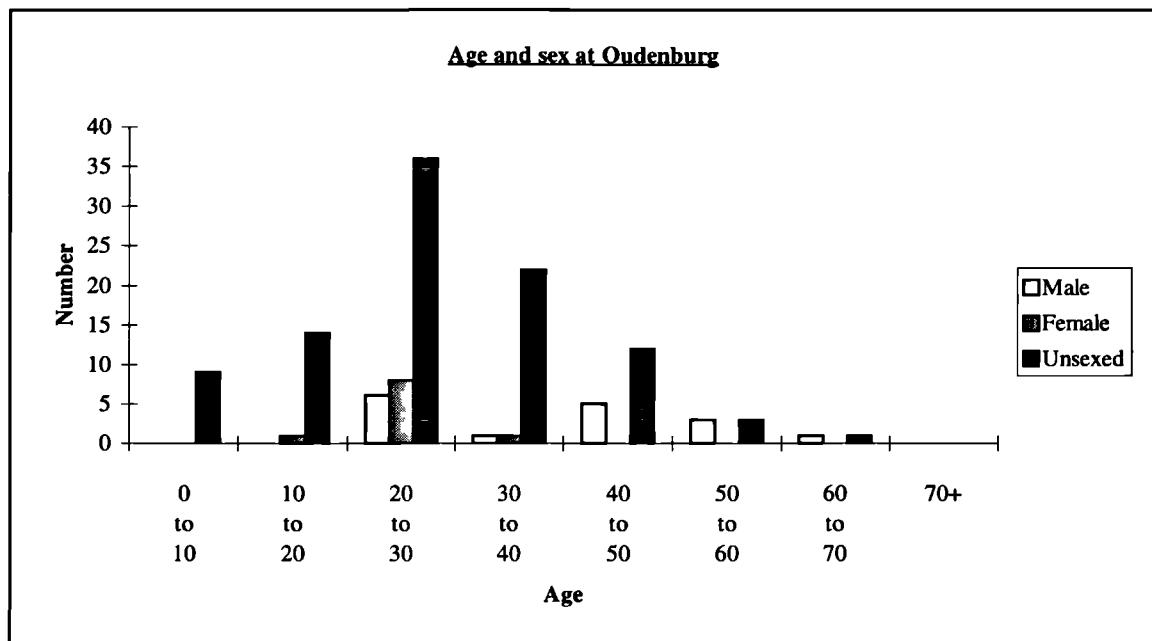
The table below shows the number of furnished and unfurnished adult and child graves to contain coffins. This excludes graves where the grave form is recorded, but the human remains could not be aged. In the graves studied, some 78% of the burials are adults, with 22% children (aged 0-20). Of those graves to contain coffins, just under 80% were adults. There appears to be little difference between adults and children in the choice of a container for the body (some 67% of all children were buried in coffins, compared to 72% of the adults).

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-Coffined	16	11	27	5	4	9	36
Coffins	19	51	70	5	13	18	88
Total	35	62	97	10	17	27	124

The decision to furnish a grave again does not appear to have been influenced by the age of the deceased (63% of both adult burials and child burials are furnished). However, it does appear to be influenced by the use of coffins, with 73% of coffins containing grave goods, compared to some 42% of earth-dug graves.

Anthropology.

The anthropology of the dead at Oudenburg is shown in the graph below. The main peak of death is between the ages of 20 and 30, and it is worth noting the dearth of burials of infants and young children. This is unlikely to have been caused by a failure to identify individuals of this age group, and could either be due to the greater fragility of bones of young children or because individuals of this age were not buried in this cemetery.



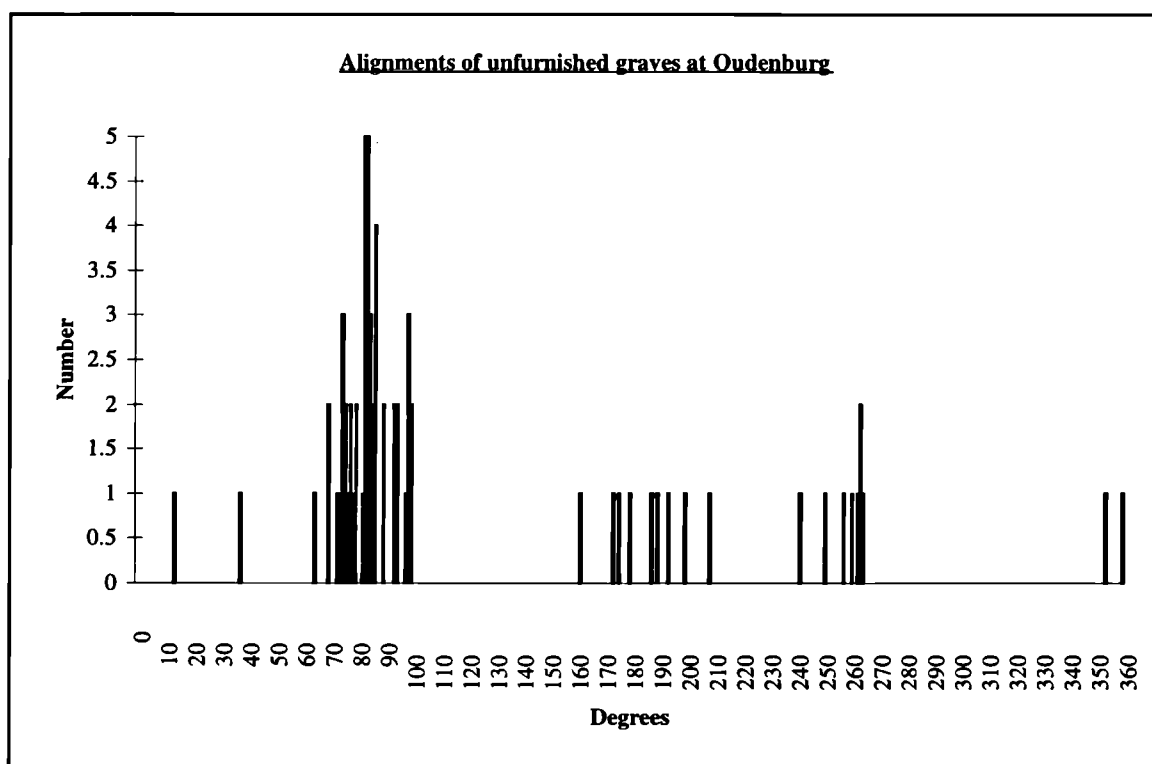
Men are slightly more common, and Mertens states that there are far more 'male' grave goods than 'female' (Mertens, 1971, 21). This would seem to suggest that the population of the fort was dominated by men, even allowing for the use of the cemetery by the population of the hinterland. However, it should be noted that there were discrepancies in the treatment of the anthropology - the project seems to have used two different anthropologists at different times and the sexing seems to have been carried out more thoroughly as the excavation went on, with a large number of the individuals in graves 177-216 being sexed, compared to very few prior to that.

Undated graves.

a. Unfurnished graves.

The majority of graves at Oudenburg are furnished, but some 36% of the graves contained no grave goods. Again, the vast majority are aligned east-west, as shown below. Clearly there is little difference in terms of the alignments of furnished and unfurnished graves.

The only real point of interest is that the unfurnished graves are less likely to contain coffins, and as such could indicate that burial within a coffin may be status- or wealth-related. There is no significant deviation in the age and sex of the unfurnished burials or the position of the body within the grave.



b. Furnished graves.

Seventy-six furnished graves could not be closely dated. These contained a variety of different grave goods, but show little deviation in terms of their general alignment, the age or sex of the different furnishing types or the body positions. The numbers of graves of each of the different furnishing groups are shown in the table below. The majority of these graves contain one type of grave good only. However, there are clearly two separate groups of furnishing. A close analysis of the individual

types of grave goods has indicated that graves containing personal articles either worn or unworn, do not fit comfortably with the graves in the rest of the cemetery. These graves often have co-occurrences with pottery and glass vessels, but very rarely co-occur with animal remains or with the fineware sigillata and pewter bowls. The characteristics of the two groups are summarised below, and the likely attribution of each furnishing type is suggested in the table below.

The first group occasionally contains pottery vessels (but never sigillata bowls). It is dominated by personal articles, which are both worn and unworn. There is a surprising dearth of animal remains in these graves in view of the numbers of these buried on the site. In the rare graves where animal remains do appear, they are generally unusual animals (i.e. cattle, goose, horse, sheep and deer, rather than pigs and chickens). The burials of glass vessels in these graves are rare. This group has tentatively been identified as associated with the garrison of the fort at Oudenburg on the basis of the nature of the grave goods (especially buckles and crossbow brooches). The coherence of this group is greater in the dated graves.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Undated graves	Population group
1	x							14	Either
2		x						6	Military
3			x					9	Military
4				x				7	Either
5					x			3	Civilian
6							x	3	Civilian
9	x	x						1	Military
12			x	x				2	Military
14				x	x			1	Civilian
18	x		x					4	Military
19	x				x			3	Civilian
20	x				x		x	1	Civilian
28	x						x	10	Civilian
29	x	x		x			x	1	Military
32	x			x			x	2	Civilian
35	x	x			x			1	Both
36	x			x			x	1	Civilian
37	x				x	x		1	Civilian
39			x				x	1	Military

42				x			x	1	Civilian
43		x		x			x	1	Military
45	x		x		x		x	1	Both
47			x	x	x			1	Both

The second group includes pottery vessels, including sigillata bowls, but no personal articles. Animal remains are common, as are glass and pewter vessels. This group may represent 'civilian' burials from the hinterland around the fort, or from within the fort itself. Neither group contains significant proportions of coins or items of equipment.

There are clearly a small number of graves which overlap between the two groups, notably those of types 35, 45 and 47. Further study of the dated graves may indicate whether similar graves represent a later amalgamation of rites.

Dated graves.

The following graves at Oudenburg could be dated:

Period 3. Graves 41 & 49.

Period 3/4. Graves 37 & 165.

Period 4. Graves 14, 20, 59, 72, 83, 93, 114, 115, 132, 137, 141, 148, 178, 188, 190, 191, 199 & 201.

Period 4/5. Graves 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 26, 27, 34, 42, 57, 58, 70, 99, 100, 103, 129, 135, 138, 144, 146, 151, 169, 170, 172, 185 & 206.

Period 5. Graves 45, 46, 64, 104 & 152.

Period 6. Graves 67, 76, 88, 111 & 124.

The small number of graves that can be dated in each period makes it impractical to analyse any changes in alignments over time. However, the study of the alignments of undated graves above have suggested that the general array of alignments of the dated graves differ little from the overall spread of alignments on the site.

The proportion of coffins in the dated graves are in line with the levels for the rest of the furnished graves. The body positions of these graves show no changes from

the norm, and there is little evidence to suggest any changes over time, whilst there are too few aged and sexed individuals to enable any analysis.

The numbers of graves of each furnishing type per period are shown in the table below, along with the interpretation of each group.

Type	Pot	Wp a	Up a	Eq u	An R	Cns	Ot V	Pd 3	Pd 3/4	Pd 4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5	Pd 6	Popn. Group
0												1		Eith
1	x									1	2			Eith
2		x								3	2		1	Milit
3			x						1	1	4	1		Milit
7						x				2				Eith
9	x	x									1			Milit
13		x		x						1	3		2	Milit
16		x			x			1						Milit
17			x		x						1			Milit
18	x		x								1			Milit
19	x				x						1			Civil
20	x				x		x				2			Civil
24		x				x				1				Milit
25	x	x		x						2	2			Milit
26	x		x	x						1				Milit
27	x		x	x			x				1			Milit
28	x						x			1	3			Civil
29	x	x		x			x				2		1	Milit
30	x		x	x		x	x					1		Civil
31	x				x	x	x			3				Civil
32	x			x			x				1			Milit
34	x	x			x		x			1				Eith
38		x		x		x				1				Milit
39			x				x		1					Milit
40	x				x	x						1		Eith
41	x	x					x	1						Milit
44				x	x	x							1	Eith
45	x		x		x		x				1			Civil
46	x	x		x		x	x					1		Milit

The majority of these graves are clearly military in influence, and there is a great deal of coherence in these burials. The personal articles are dominated by the inclusion of crossbow brooches and belt buckles, with the latter occasionally accompanied by belt fittings.

The graves dated to period 3 are both military in nature, and contain crossbow brooches. They do contain unusual co-occurrences in the form of animal remains and a glass vessel. The period 3/4 graves follow the military pattern more closely, both containing crossbow brooches and buckles.

The greater numbers of graves dated to period 4 include a number of both 'civilian' and 'military' graves. Again the latter are dominated by graves containing crossbow brooches and buckles. These occasionally co-occur with knives and pottery, but rarely with any other grave goods. There appears to be little or no distinction between worn and unworn personal articles. Indeed, where crossbow brooches are worn, the buckles associated with them are invariably unworn. The small number of civilian graves in this group contain pottery, some animal remains, coins and other vessels (both glass and pewter).

The graves of period 4/5 follow a similar pattern, although there is a slightly greater variation in the additional grave goods in the military graves, with worn hobnails, a spear, and occasionally animal remains and glass vessels present. There is slightly greater variation in the furnishing of the civilian graves, with a few possibly containing personal articles.

The gradual blurring of boundaries between the two groups is evident in the graves of period 5, with increasing numbers of coins, animal remains and glass vessels. The presence of crossbow brooches and buckles in three of these graves still suggest some military influence.

Two of the five graves in period 6 contain both worn crossbow brooches and hobnails, with one also containing a knife and shears. The other three graves are all unusual. Two contain worn brooches - including tutulus brooches - along with various items of equipment, whilst the furnishing of the third included a dog skeleton, a coin hoard and a flint and metal strike-a-light. This group would appear to indicate some continuity of the military rite, but the three rich graves all appear to represent a diversification of the burial rite.

Discussion.

The study of these graves has indicated that at Oudenburg it is possible to identify two discrete burial rites. The first contains significant proportions of personal articles, particularly crossbow brooches and belt buckles, occasionally associated with knives, but rarely contains either the sigillata wares or the animal remains of the second group. This group is tentatively identified as representing military burials, although the lack of anthropology for many of the burials cannot confirm the suggestion based on the grave goods that most of these burials will represent adult males.

The second group contain high proportions of pottery, animal remains and glass and pewter vessels, but rarely contain personal articles. These graves are considered to represent the local civilian population, either from the hinterland or of the fort's non-military population.

The dated graves indicate that there is a gradual blurring of the boundaries between these two discrete rites, with graves of period 4 and 4/5 containing aspects of both rites. The graves of period 6 show a continuation of the military burials along with three unusual wealthy burials. The brooches in two of these graves would indicate some continuity into the fifth century, whilst some of the brooches are Germanic in style.

La Rue Perdue, Tournai.

Excavations in the late 1960s and early 1970s revealed 178 late Roman burials, of which three were cremations, and the remainder inhumations.

The cremations.

There are three cremations from the site. In all three cases, the cremated bone is placed in a container (a pottery vessel in the case of graves 137 and 151 and a wooden box in the case of grave 15). Grave goods are also present in graves 15 (a beaker and a

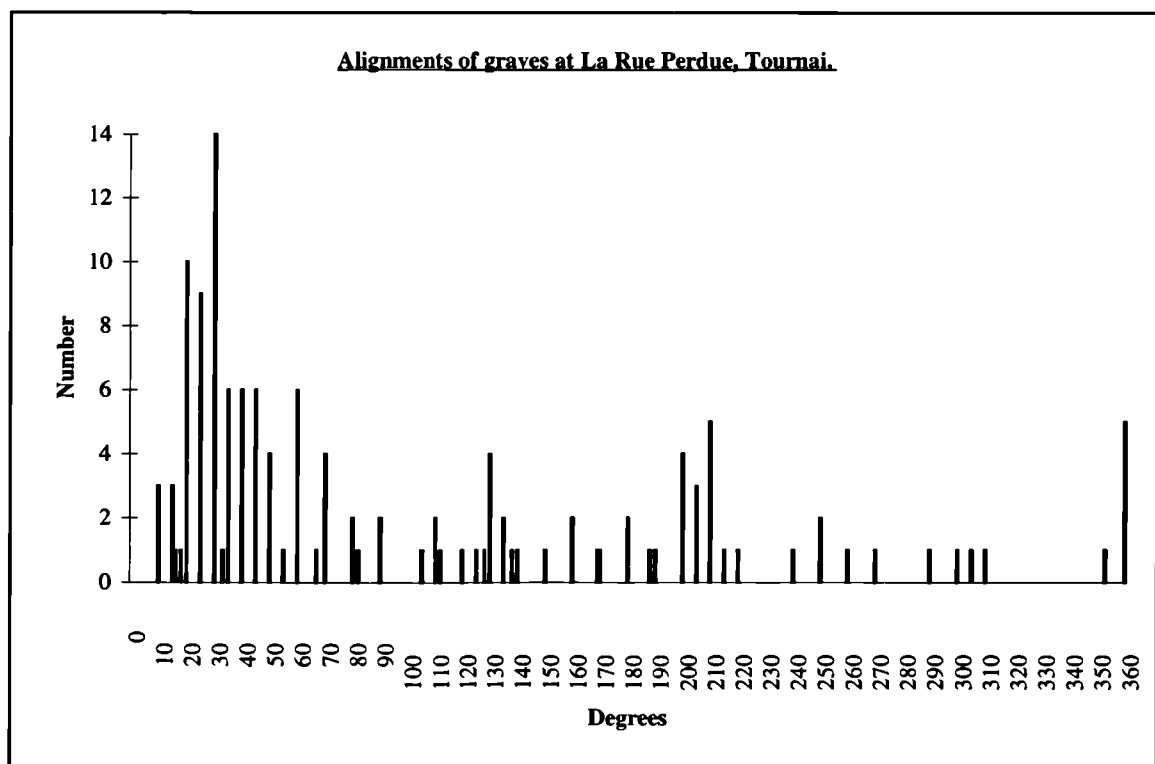
needle) and 137 (animal bones and a coin). Only grave 15 was dated (stratigraphically) - to period 4.

The inhumations.

There are 175 late Roman inhumations from the site.

Alignment.

The predominant alignments at La Rue Perdue belong to the group of graves with their heads ranging from the east-north-east to the north-east (roughly 22° to 45°). However, there is a wide spread of alignments on the site, with less than 40% of the graves in the main grouping.

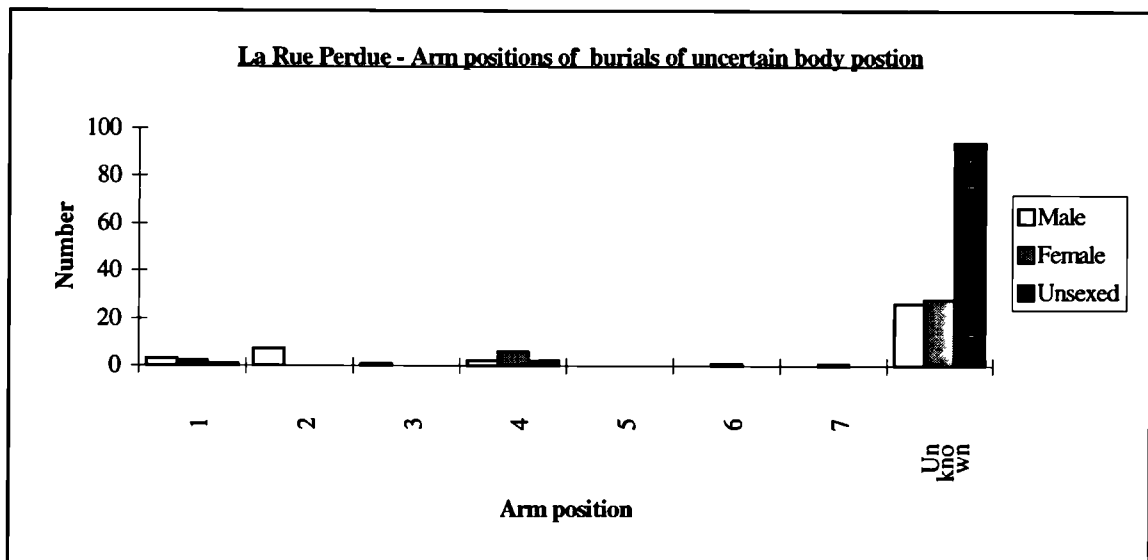


Grave form.

The main form of burial at La Rue Perdue is inhumations within a coffin. There are also three stone-lined graves and one lead coffin. Over 71% of the burials on the site come from coffins, with only 26% of all of the burials in simple earth-dug graves.

Body position.

The body positions of two of the burials are recorded as extended. Both have arm position 1, and one is male and the other female. The body position of the remainder of the graves are shown in the graph below. Clearly arm positions 1, 2 and 4 are the most popular, although the large numbers of graves with uncertain arm positions make it difficult to identify particular burial positions as popular with any certainty.



Coffins.

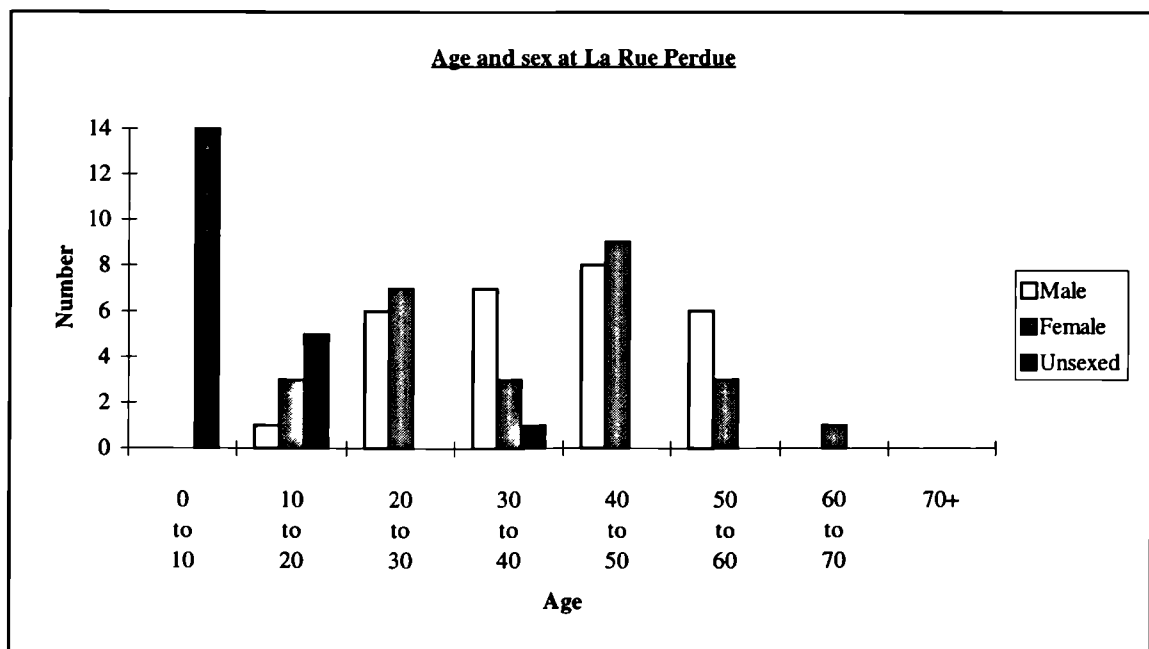
Only a relatively small proportion of burials from the site were accurately aged (see below), and as a consequence, the study of the use of coffins and other containers is slightly stilted. Only seven of the earth-dug graves were sexed, and all contained adult burials, of which slightly over half were unfurnished, whilst the percentages for the provision of grave goods in the graves containing coffins are 70% and 81% respectively. However, the more reliable statistics are provided by the percentages of furnished graves of each sex, regardless of the anthropology. Roughly 50% of the earth-dug graves

contained grave goods, in comparison to nearly 87% of those containing coffins. It seems likely that coffins are more closely linked to the provision of grave goods than graves with no container. It is difficult to assess the absence of child burials from the latter because of the small numbers involved.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-Coffined	4	3	7	0	0	0	7
Coffins	19	46	65	7	30	37	102
Stone lined	0	2	2	0	0	0	2
Total	23	51	74	7	30	37	111

Anthropology.

Less than half of the graves from the site were aged or sexed accurately. Those that were are shown in the graph below. Because of the small group sizes any deviations are exaggerated. As expected, the main peak of unsexed burials are children and adolescents, whilst the male and female burials show a roughly similar pattern, with both showing a peak of burials in the 40 to 50 age group.

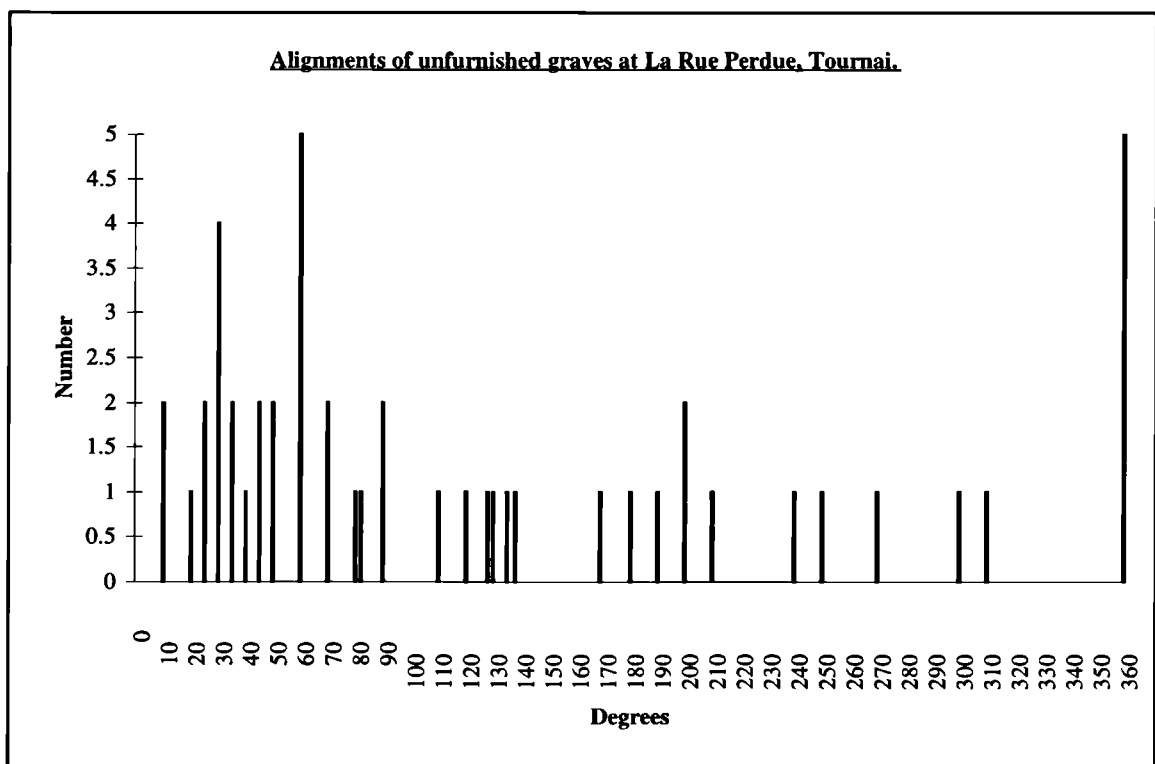


Undated graves.

A total of 94 graves from the site could not be dated closely. The majority of these are unfurnished.

a. Unfurnished graves.

There are 75 unfurnished inhumations from the site. These show a spread of alignments. There are peaks of graves aligned roughly east-north-east to north-east and north-south. The alignments of these graves suggests that the unfurnished graves are more likely to have an unusual alignment. This could indicate a degree of status influencing the choice of alignments.



There are no significant differences between the anthropology of the unfurnished graves and the furnished graves. There are however, a smaller proportion of coffins in the unfurnished graves (see above). The recording of the position of the body and arms of the deceased is too poor to enable comparisons.

b. Furnished graves.

There are 39 furnished graves which could not be dated closely. The majority of these contain a single type of grave good. The largest group contains pottery only (see table below), although personal articles are common (generally the worn personal articles are hobnails, whilst the unworn personal articles are generally cases where the exact position is not recorded). Where there are two or more types of grave goods, these usually contain pottery, personal articles and occasionally one or more type (with coins more common than equipment, animal remains and other vessels). The coherence of this rite is relatively good, although a considerable range of grave goods are employed.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Undated graves
1	x							16
2		x						3
3			x					3
4				x				1
5					x			2
6							x	1
9	x	x						1
18	x		x					2
19	x				x			2
23	x	x				x		1
24		x				x		1
28	x						x	2
48	x					x		2
51	x		x				x	1
55	x		x	x		x		1

There is little further point in studying the alignments, grave forms and anthropology in great detail here. It has already been established that these graves are more likely to use coffins, by virtue of containing grave goods, and that these graves conform more closely to the main alignment peaks than the unfurnished graves, whilst the small proportions of aged and sexed graves also makes further study impractical.

Dated graves.

The following graves at La Rue Perdue could be dated.

Period 2. Graves 3, 8, 11, 32, 60, 97, 118, 122, 140 & 141.

Period 3. Graves 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 38, 42, 46, 48, 69, 72, 74, 92, 107, 123, 127, 145 & 155.

Period 4. Graves 1, 5, 15, 29, 35, 41, 44, 47, 52, 67, 68, 71, 73, 75, 76, 88, 94, 96, 108, 116, 124, 125 & 164.

Period 5. Graves 36, 43, 70, 166 & 171.

Period 5/6. Grave 113.

Period 6. Grave 172.

Reasonable numbers of graves were dated to periods 2 to 4, but few are well dated to periods 5 to 6. There is little significant change in the alignment over time of those graves at La Rue Perdue which could be dated. All show a peak of graves aligned with their head roughly towards the north east. Only one of the dated graves does not appear to have contained a coffin. This supports the conclusion concerning the smaller proportion of undated graves using coffins. The use of coffins seems linked to the use of grave goods, and therefore the dated graves.

There are not sufficient data to enable the comparison of the anthropology of the dead over time, or the position of the body or arms. All that can be said is that both sexes and most age groups are reasonably well represented in the sample. However, it is possible to look at some of the grave goods in order to assess whether they change significantly over time. The table below shows the different furnishing types per period.

The dated graves show similar patterns of furnishing to the undated graves, although the dated graves contain significantly higher proportions of coins used as grave goods. The general pattern, of pottery, personal articles (generally worn) and coins as the main grave goods can be seen in graves from periods 2 to 5, with too few graves dated to periods 5/6 and 6 to analyse these periods reliably. Items of equipment, animal remains and glass and metal vessels are rare in these graves, usually only occurring in combination with other grave goods. The glass and metal vessels only occur in well furnished graves, and may be an indicator of wealth in graves.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 2	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 5	Pd 5/6	Pd 6
0								1		1			
1	x								1		1	1	
2		x											1
7						x		1	1	5			
9	x	x									1		
10			x			x				1			
18	x		x								1		
21	x	x			x	x			1				
23	x	x				x		2	2	3			
24		x				x		2	1	3			
34	x	x				x	x			2			
38		x		x		x				1			
46	x	x		x		x	x	1		1			
48	x					x		2	7	3	1		
49	x		x			x				1			
50	x			x						1			
52				x		x			1		1		
53						x	x			1			
54	x		x			x			1	1			
56			x	x		x			1				

There appears to be little significant change in the burial rite over time. The pottery vessels are generally placed by the head or feet, and occasionally on either side of the body. Where these dated graves contain pottery vessels, they generally have more than one vessel. Indeed the average numbers of vessels in such graves is as high as three vessels per grave in periods 3, 4 and 5/6. The personal articles in these graves are generally worn - the unworn articles include the personal articles for which no position is recorded, as well as a few examples where hobnails are recorded at the feet, but not as worn. Where graves contain coins, they usually contain more than one. There appears to be a gradual decline in the average number of coins over time, with the period 2 graves averaging around 6 coins per grave whilst the figures for periods 3, 4 and 5 are 4, 3 and 2.5 respectively. The numbers of dateable graves tails off towards the end of the fourth century, which may indicate the cemetery falling into disuse at this time. There is little evidence to suggest continuation of unfurnished burial after this date.

Discussion.

The burial rite at La Rue Perdue is relatively coherent, and shows little evidence for significant deviations from this norm. The unfurnished graves may well represent the burials of paupers, as the proportions of these to contain coffins are lower than the average for the site as a whole, and these graves are also more likely to have an 'unusual' alignment than the furnished graves. The evidence from the furnished graves suggests that some of the deviations in burial rite are likely to be associated with differences in status.

St Quentin, Tournai.

These excavations uncovered ten graves, of which six were fourth century cremations. All six cremations used pottery vessels as containers for the cremated bone, with three also containing pottery vessels used specifically as grave goods. Two cremations also contained personal articles in the form of a bracelet and a fourth century brooch. Two of the cremations, graves 7 and 9, were dated, to periods 2/3 and 2 respectively.

Three of the four inhumations were aligned with their head roughly to the north-east, and one was aligned with its head roughly to the north. There was no adequate anthropological study of the dead. One was buried in an earth dug grave, one contained a coffin and another was stone-lined. The fourth was not well recorded. Only one of the inhumations contained grave goods - grave 10 contained a finger ring, which may have been worn, and 3 coins, the position of which were not recorded. The grave itself was dated to period 3.

It seems possible that burials these belonged to the same cemetery as the graves from La Rue Perdue, and, if this is the case, then there may be different areas of the cemetery for cremations and inhumations - there are six cremations out of the ten graves at St Quentin, compared to only three from La Rue Perdue. All three of the latter are on the south-eastern edge of the cemetery, in the direction of the graves at St Quentin.

Certainly the inhumations would fit in with those from La Rue Perdue, both in terms of their alignments and the furnishing of grave 10 (furnishing type 10).

Furfooz.

Excavations in the nineteenth century uncovered a small cemetery of late Roman burials in and around a disused bathhouse. These consisted of 23 inhumations and two cremations.

a. The cremations.

The two cremation from the site are urned cremations. The first is placed in a jar within roughly circular pit, with no other grave goods. It is not well dated, although it post dates the end of the bath house, being cut into a corner of the *caldarium*. In the second, the cremated bone is placed in a bowl of fourth century date.

b. The inhumations.

Of the 18 graves where the alignment was recorded, all but one are aligned east-west, along the lengthways axis of the building and often between the stacks of the hypocaust. The one exception to this alignment is a single grave aligned north-south in the apse of the bath-house.

Wooden coffins were recorded in 14 graves, although these are only identified through the presence of coffin nails. One of the graves - grave 13 - contained a double burial. The anthropological examination of the dead appears to be based on the presence of certain types of grave goods in the graves, and is therefore not wholly reliable.

All of the 21 recorded body positions are extended. Of these, all but one grave had arm position 1, with the one exception having arm position 5. The burial in grave 5 is recorded as a decapitation, with the head removed and placed between the feet (Nenquin, 1953, 100). This individual was edentulous and therefore reasonably elderly.

All but three of the graves were furnished. None of these three burials were interred in coffins. These include the burial with the unusual alignment. Two of the three were extended, and the one arm position recorded is of position 1.

Furnished graves.

Fifteen of the furnished graves were relatively well dated by their grave goods. These date to the following groups:

Period 3/4. Graves 17, 19 and 21.

Period 4/5. Graves 3, 4, 9 and 10.

Period 5. Graves 16, 18 and 20.

Period 5/6. Graves 1, 2, 6, 12 and 13.

The furnishing types of these inhumations are shown in the table below. The furnishing levels of these graves are generally high, with large numbers of grave goods of different forms buried. Pottery, personal articles, equipment and glass and bronze vessels are common grave goods. Most of the graves contain combinations of grave goods. Vessels are common grave goods, with glass and bronze vessels occurring in nearly as many graves as the pottery vessels. The personal articles are dominated by belt buckles and fittings, with a number of graves containing bracelets. Bracelets are generally not numerous in these graves, and are usually worn, with only one grave containing numbers of bracelets, with the majority worn on the left arm. Belt buckles and sets are unworn, with the majority placed by the feet. The one crossbow brooch, from grave 3, is also unworn.

Weaponry dominates the items of equipment. Five of the graves contained spears and axes, whilst two other graves contained axes. Three of the graves contained arrowheads (with two of these containing three arrowheads). Bone combs are also common grave goods, with flints less common and only one containing a spoon. Only two graves are recorded as actually containing coins, whilst some thirty nine coins are recorded as originating in the graves (Nenquin, 1953, 20). Only one of these coins could be traced to its original grave. The coins range in date from AD 258 to AD 388, with 28

dated to the House of Constantine or later. The range of coin dates seems likely to represent the range of dates of the cemetery.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Und	Pd 3/4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5	Pd 5/6
2		x						1				
3			x					3				
26	x		x	x				1	1			
27	x		x	x			x			3	2	3
28	x						x			1		
32	x			x			x	1				
41	x	x					x					1
46	x	x		x		x	x					1
50	x			x				1				
73	x			x		x	x			1		

Despite the problem with attributing the coins to graves, the overall rite at Furfooz is remarkably coherent. Pottery, glass and bronze vessels are common in graves of all types, with the provision of personal articles and equipment apparently varying according to the sex of the individual. Although there is no adequate anthropological study, it seems safe to assume that the graves containing weaponry, belt sets, crossbow brooches and flints as male burials (both through comparison with other sites in the study and on the 'diagnostic' evidence of the grave goods in the grave). The provision of weaponry in many of these graves, combined with the proximity of a fort, suggests a military origin for these burials. They are characterised by the provision of pottery, personal articles (consisting of unworn belt sets and a single unworn crossbow brooch), weaponry and bone combs and both glass and bronze vessels. The few graves containing worn bracelets are likely to be female. These contain far fewer items of vessels and equipment, although one contains a bone comb and a second a spoon. These contain fewer grave goods in general than the 'male' graves. Although there are only a few graves from the cemetery, they show little evidence of significant change in burial practice over time. The internal differences within the rite are unlikely to be significant.

Noyelles-sur-Mer.

Excavations at Noyelles-sur-Mer on a road link in 1974 uncovered a cemetery 900m south-east of the town. 31 inhumations lay under the line of the road, although a number of these were damaged or were destroyed by terracing.

22 of the graves are recorded as being aligned south-north, with their heads to the south, and another is aligned north-west to south-east. The remaining eight graves described by the report were too damaged for their alignment to be recorded. All of the graves are rectangular earth-dug graves, and some of the dead are interred in coffins.

There is evidence for the provision of wooden coffins in 16 graves. These are visible both as wood stains and from surviving coffin nails. All but one of the 16 are rectangular in shape. The exception to this is grave 10, where the head of the coffin is wider than the foot, although not significantly so. These coffins usually fit very tightly within the grave cuts, or are lined with stones, whilst three graves (7, 9 and 15) contain a secondary wooden compartment which contained the grave goods. However, there appears to have been no anthropological examination of the dead.

Twelve of the graves are recorded as containing extended burials, although only eight arm positions are noted. Of these, one grave had arm position 1, six had arm position 4 and one had arm position 7.

All 21 of the graves which were not damaged contained grave goods. However, only a small number could be dated closely.

Undated graves.

The furnishing types of the undated graves are shown in the table below. Pottery vessels are the majority grave goods. There are also a number of glass vessels in these graves. Most of the graves contain combinations of grave goods, with personal articles (both worn and unworn) equipment and animal remains occurring occasionally.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	--------

1	x							1
12			x	x				1
28	x						x	6
41	x	x					x	1
42				x			x	1
50	x			x				1
66	x			x	x		x	2

Dated graves.

The following graves are dated:

Period 3. Grave 16.

Period 4. Graves 1, 9 & 23.

Period 5. Graves 5, 12, 25 & 27.

As with the undated graves, the provision of pottery vessels dominates the furnishing rites. Indeed, these graves differ little from the undated graves, although these dated graves often contain coins. There are too few graves to examine any changes over time.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 5
9	x	x								1
13		x		x				1		
22	x			x		x			1	
31	x				x	x	x			1
48	x					x			1	
65	x		x		x	x	x		1	
67	x	x			x	x	x			1
68	x					x	x			1

Discussion.

The burial rites from this cemetery are hard to define, as they contain a wide array of grave goods, and numerous co-occurrences. Pottery vessels dominate the furnishing, with glass and pewter vessels also relatively common. Coins and personal articles are less common, whilst animal remains and items of equipment are rare. The diversity and number of grave goods may indicate some social element in the choice of grave goods. There are a number of well furnished graves, with few poorly furnished.

Nouvion-en-Ponthieu.

Three of the graves from Nouvion-en-Ponthieu dated to the late Roman period (graves 89, 175 & 176). These were set apart from the later Frankish area of the cemetery. All are aligned south-north, with their heads at the southern end of the grave. Two contain wooden coffins and the third is an earth-dug grave. The only anthropology recorded is that the individual in grave 176 is female, but its age is not recorded. All three of the burials are extended, and one has arm position 4.

Unfurnished graves.

The two burials within coffins were unfurnished.

Furnished graves.

Grave 176 contained pottery vessels, worn and unworn personal articles, chicken remains and a coin (furnishing type 21). The worn personal articles were beads and a hairpin, whilst the unworn were a brooch and a finger ring. The grave was dated by the coin of Magnentius.

Nibas.

The single grave excavated at Nibas was a sarcophagus, buried with the head of the body roughly towards the north. It contained the body of a woman in the 20 to 30 age group, in an extended position, and with her arms in position 2. The grave was well furnished, containing two pottery vessels, two wooden boxes, a mirror and two glass flasks and a glass beaker (furnishing type 32). The grave goods were placed by the head and feet, with most of the vessels and the mirror placed within the wooden boxes.

Frenouville.

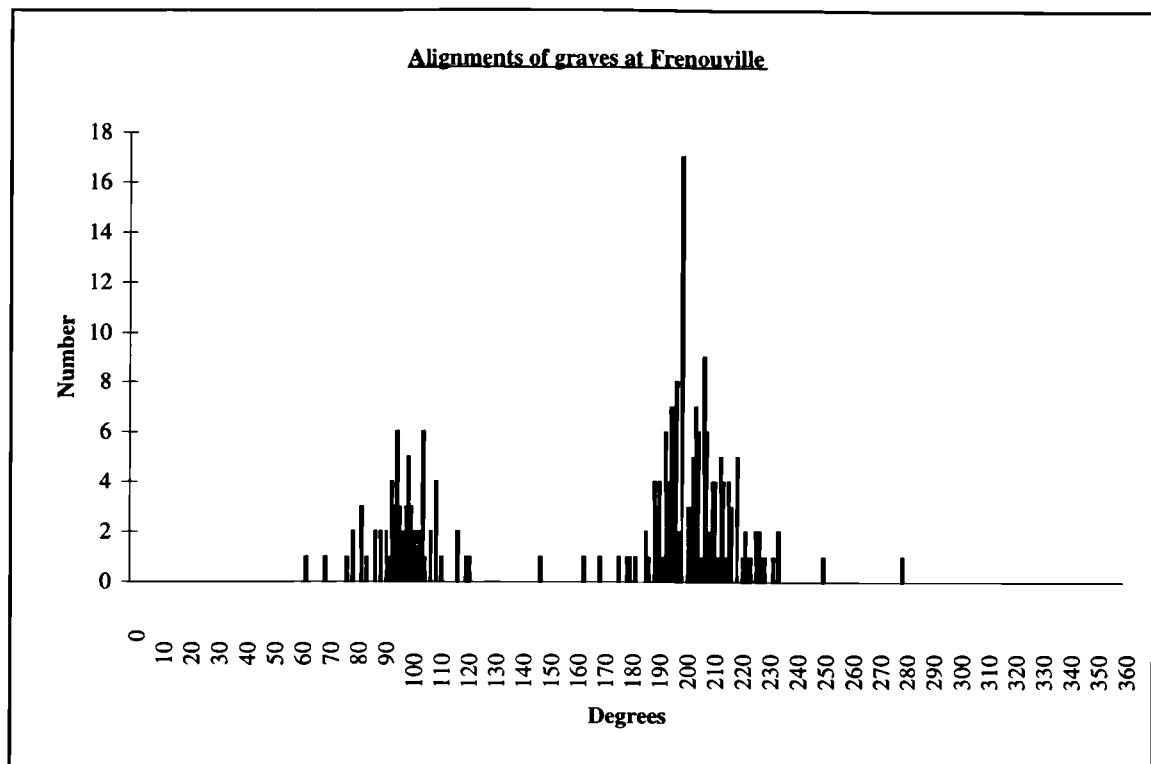
The excavations at Frenouville revealed a substantial late Roman inhumation cemetery which was later superseded by a cemetery with a Frankish rite. The latter graves are always aligned on an east-west axis, whilst the Roman graves are generally aligned on a south-north axis. However, in view of the spatial overlap between the two cemeteries and the apparent lack of graves dating to the period between the two, a number of the east-west graves are considered here.

The inhumations.

In total, some 232 graves are analysed here as late Roman or potentially late Roman in date.

Alignment.

The majority of the graves at Frenouville are aligned roughly south-north and south west-north east. These graves clearly form the largest peak of alignments in the graph below. The smaller peak belongs to the group of east-west graves, which may be Frankish in date.



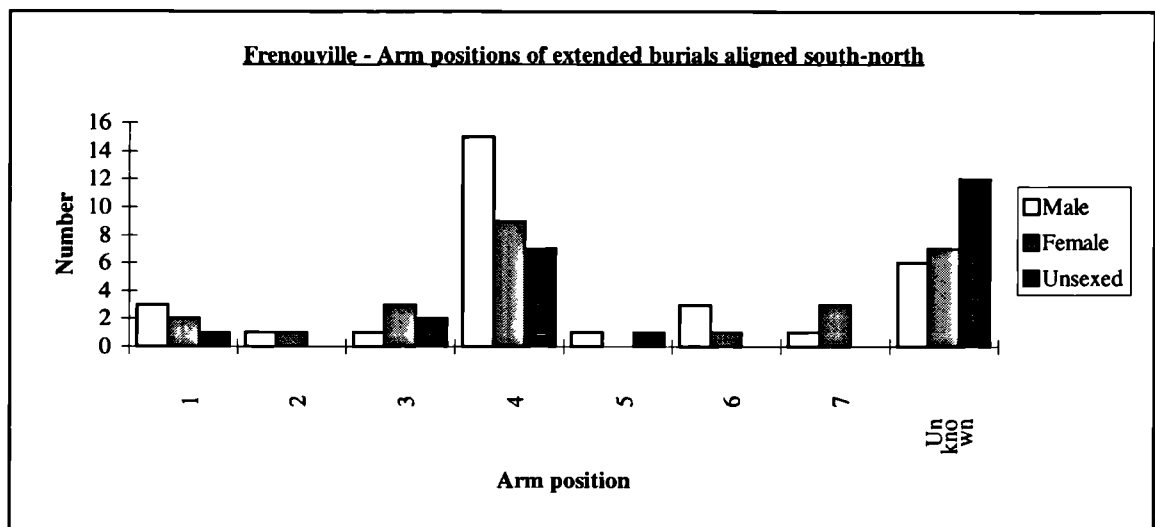
Grave form.

Coffins are rare at Frenouville, occurring in only 32 of the graves studied. This would appear to be an accurate reflection of their use, as a number were identified by the wood stain alone (this was also the case with the wooden 'stretchers' found on the site). None of the east-west graves contained a wooden coffin. In addition to the coffins, some 5% of the dead were placed on wooden biers/'stretchers'. These are visible as layers of wood - often carbonised - underneath the body (there are no corresponding layers to equate to the walls or lid of a coffin) which are usually relatively thick (3-5cm) and are interpreted as stretchers or biers on which the dead were transported to the grave (Pilet 1980b, p. 141) and laid in the grave. These only occur in graves aligned south-north. The remainder of the graves studied - including all 69 of the east-west graves are simple earth-dug graves.

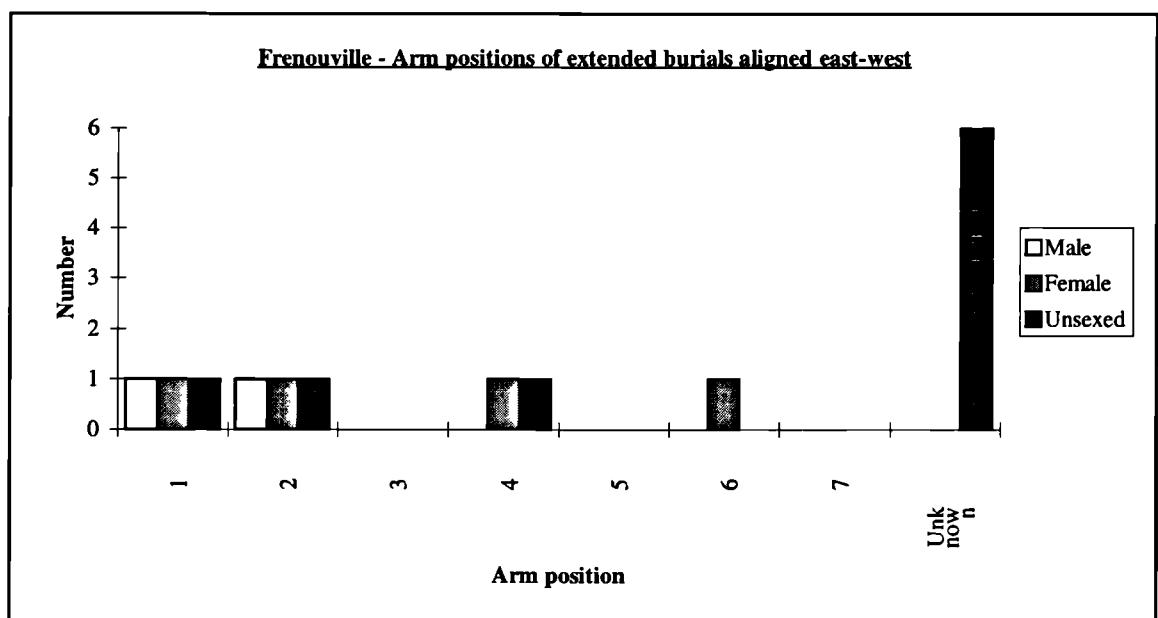
Body position.

The body positions of the dead vary little. Where the body is sufficiently well preserved, the predominant body position is extended. The arm positions of the

extended burials aligned south-north is shown in the graph below. Arm position 4 is clearly the most common, with smaller proportions of other positions.



The arm positions for the east-west graves are shown below. Again, where the body position is recorded, the dead are extended. Only a few of the arm positions are recorded.



Coffins and other containers for the body.

Although both sexes are equally well represented in terms of burials within coffins, none of the graves is closely aged. The graves containing coffins also share the same major groups of alignments as the rest of the site. The 'stretchers', on the other hand, appear to be confined to men only. None of the graves is aged, but all of the graves which are sexed are male. In addition to this, none of the grave goods is potentially diagnostic as female. The 'stretchers' show no evidence for deviation from the predominant alignments on the site. It seems likely that the use of stretchers is confined to male burials, although there are no other grounds for suggesting that these form a deviant group.

The table below shows the numbers of furnished and unfurnished graves of each type (in the absence of reliable anthropological data). Slightly more than half of the un-coffined graves are furnished, compared to 71% of the coffins and 82% of the wooden biers. These figures for the un-coffined graves include the east-west graves (in brackets), of which 50 are unfurnished and 19 furnished. Even with these figures excluded, the percentage of furnished un-coffined graves (65%) is lower than either of the other grave forms. However this does indicate that only 27% of the east-west graves are furnished. This is clearly a result of the criteria by which these graves were selected - i.e. no post-Roman grave goods and a proximity to the Roman area of burial. It does appear that amongst the Roman burials, the use of coffins and wooden biers is slightly more likely to be linked to the burial of grave goods than simple graves, although the overall sample is small.

	Unfurnished	Furnished	Total
Un-coffined	42 (50)	78 (19)	120 (69)
Coffined	9	23	32
Wooden bier	2	9	11
Total	103	129	232

Anthropology.

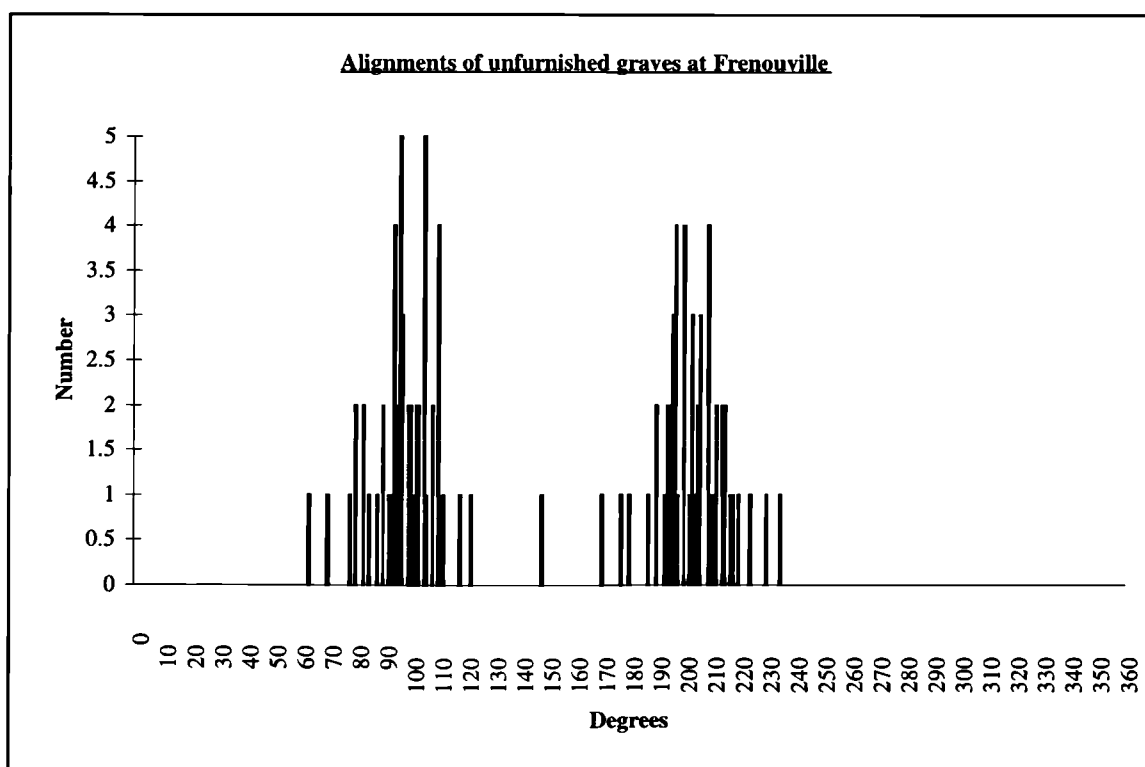
The anthropology of the graves at Frenouville is not detailed - largely due to the poor quality of the bone preservation. It is clear that none of the graves are aged, and only a few are sexed. 40 of the dead are identified as male, 46 are identified as female, and the remaining individuals are unsexed. There is no apparent sexual bias to the differing alignments.

Undated graves.

Of the graves studied, 214 could not be closely dated.

Unfurnished graves.

The alignments from the 103 unfurnished graves are shown in the graph below. Clearly the majority of the east-west graves are included in this group.



Nine of the unfurnished graves and two of the wooden biers are unfurnished, all of which are aligned south-north. The remainder are ordinary graves. There are too few of these graves sexed to be of any comparative use.

Furnished graves.

95 of the furnished graves could not be dated closely. These contain an unusually diverse array of furnishing types. 16 of these are aligned east-west, whilst 95 have a south-north alignment. The furnishing groups of these graves are shown in the table below. The east-west graves do not contain any furnishing types that would be out of place in the south-north graves, although they have a higher proportion of unworn personal articles. The personal articles in the graves are generally buckles and associated belt fittings, although four also contained beads.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	E-W graves	S-N graves
1	x								10
2		x						2	14
3			x					12	12
4				x				1	6
5					x				2
6							x		6
7						x			1
9	x	x							10
12			x	x				1	1
13		x		x					1
14				x	x				1
17			x		x				2
18	x		x						1
19	x				x				1
20	x				x		x		1
25	x	x		x					2
26	x		x	x					1
28	x						x		2
32	x			x			x		1
39			x				x		4
41	x	x					x		2
42				x			x		1
43			x	x			x		1
50	x			x					1
52				x		x			1
54	x		x			x			1
57		x					x		5
58		x		x			x		2
60		x		x	x		x		1

Over half of the south-north graves contained single forms of grave goods. These are dominated by pottery and both worn and unworn personal articles. The worn personal articles are predominantly hobnails, whilst the range of unworn personal articles is greater. Only one of the graves containing equipment only stands out. It contains an axe, an iron baton, a wooden box, a compass and a pair of pincers.

Where there are combination of furnishing forms, they generally consist of two furnishing types. There is no real pattern to the choice of grave goods, although pottery, personal articles and other vessels are relatively common. Worn personal articles other than hobnails are rare. Items of equipment and animal remains are the least common grave goods. It is difficult to identify a coherent pattern to these furnishing groups in the light of the diversity both of grave goods and of the combinations of types.

These graves include all but two of the wooden biers. Although these appear to represent a coherent rite in terms of their grave form, they do not show any particular coherence in their furnishing. Indeed, their diversity of grave goods is characteristic of the cemetery as a whole.

Dated graves.

Fifteen graves could be closely dated. These are dated as follows:

Period 2. Graves 242, 315 & 329.

Period 3. Graves 433, 436 & 441.

Period 4. Graves 323, 331 & 438.

Period 4/5. Grave 286.

Period 5. Graves 390, 393, 403, 450 & 452.

None of these groups contains significant numbers of graves, and any conclusions drawn from them are necessarily tentative. All but one of these graves are aligned roughly south-north. The implication is that there is no evidence for any significant change in alignment over time. Five of the fifteen graves which were closely dated contained coffins.

The furnishing types of the graves are shown below according to the period to which they are dated. Although the furnishing types for each period differ, the general pattern of furnishing changes little over time. They differ from the undated graves in terms of their furnishing in that they contain a greater proportion of coins. Pottery, personal articles and other vessels in various combinations are present in the majority of these furnished graves. Hobnails are the only worn personal articles.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 2	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5
7						x				1		1
10			x			x						1
23	x	x				x				1		
24		x				x		1				
38		x		x		x		1				
46	x	x		x		x	x				1	
48	x					x						1
53						x	x	1	1			
56			x	x		x						1
59		x		x		x	x			1		
61		x			x		x					1
62		x				x	x		1			
63			x			x	x		1			

The differences between the furnishing of these graves and the undated graves is likely to be a result of the method by which the graves are dated. Beyond establishing that there is a higher proportion of coins than the undated graves would suggest, the dated graves add little to the study of the burial rite.

Discussion.

There are a number of graves aligned east-west, but none of these contains any positive evidence for a Roman date. This is supported by the stratigraphy - none of the east-west graves is stratigraphically earlier than the north-south graves. There appears to be very little real change in the alignments at Frenouville during the Roman period.

There is very little coherence to the burial rites at Frenouville. There are certain

distinctive rites, such as the burial of a number of adult males on wooden biers, but even these show little internal coherence of furnishing. There is no strong evidence for changes in burial rite over time, although this is unsurprising in view of the diversity of the furnishing.

St Martin de Fontenay.

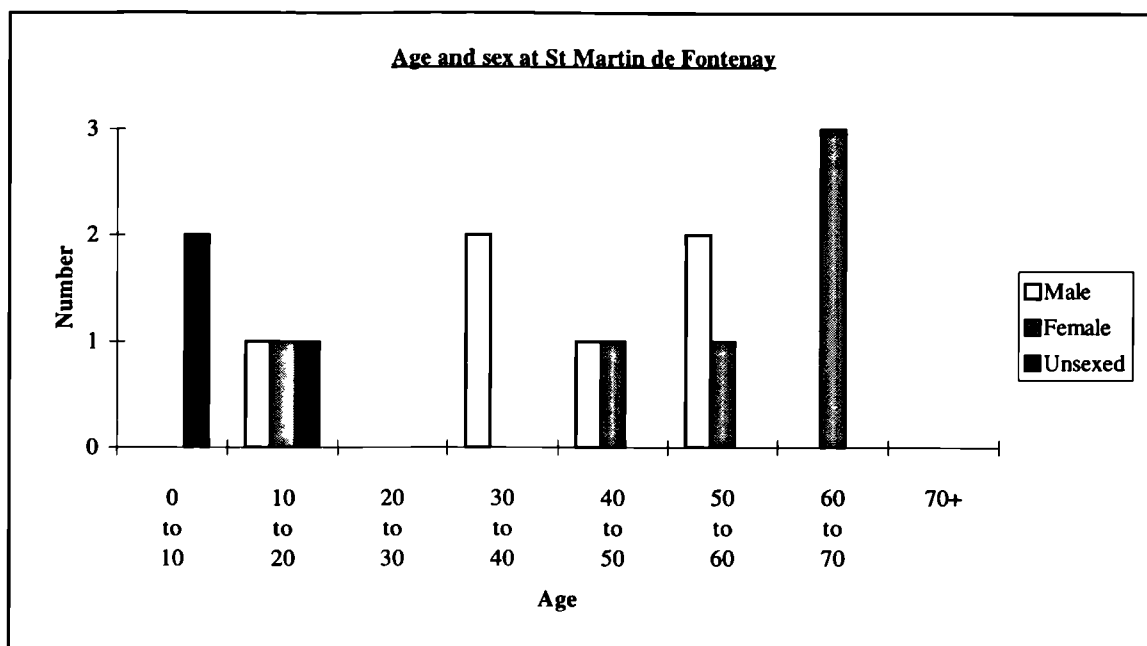
Thirty seven of the graves from St Martin de Fontenay have been identified as being late Roman in date. Three of these are cremations, with the remainder inhumations.

The cremations.

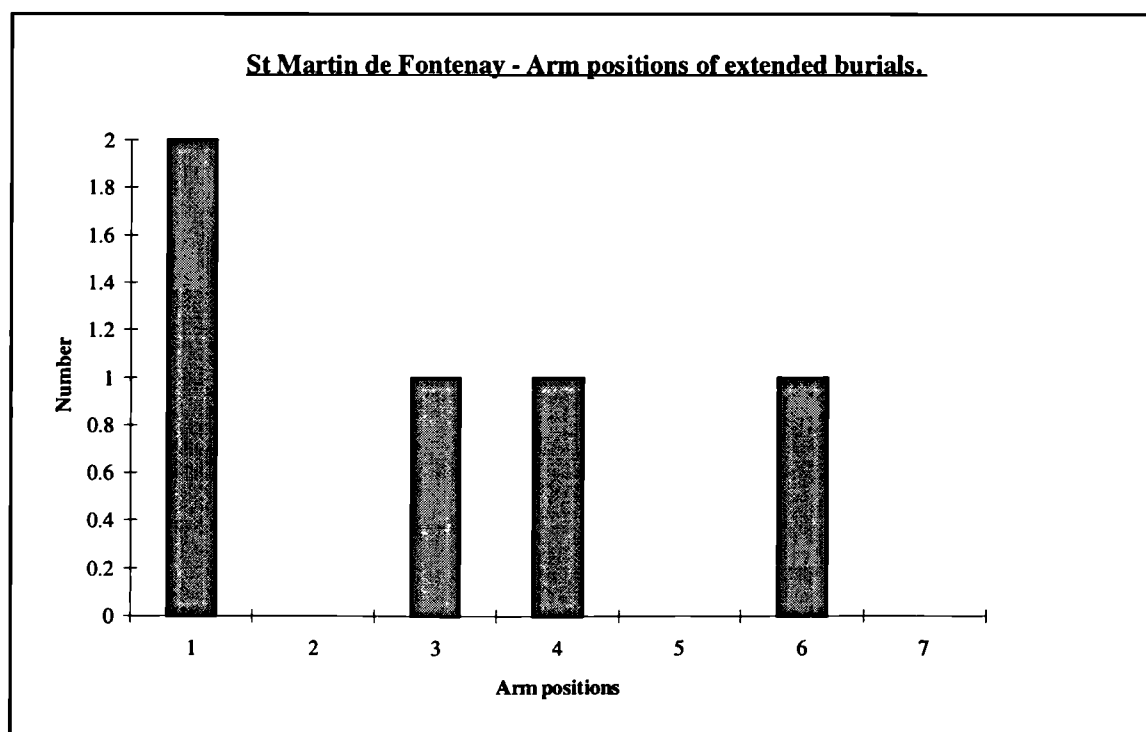
There are three cremations at St-Martin-de-Fontenay. These are all simple deposits of cremated bone, and two have grave goods. Cremation 2 contained a fragment of a crossbow brooch and cremation 5 contained a buckle. None of the cremations have been anthropologically studied. The crossbow brooch dates cremation 2 to the second half of the fourth century.

The inhumations.

The predominant alignment of these graves is north-south, with over half the inhumations in this group. The other graves are aligned north-east to south-west, east-west and south-east to north-west. Grave 356 was the only Roman grave which seems to have contained a coffin (on the evidence of the coffin nails). The others all appear to have been simple earth dug graves. The anthropology of the inhumations at St-Martin-de-Fontenay can be seen in the graph below. There are too few burials for any serious conclusions to be drawn on this data, although most age groups and both sexes are reasonably well represented for such a small sample.



The body and arm positions of the dead can be seen in the following graph. Only a few arm positions of the dead are known. However, where the body position is recorded, it is exclusively extended, and it is only ever the arm position that varies.



Undated graves.

a. Unfurnished graves.

15 out of the 37 graves were unfurnished. The unfurnished graves show a similar pattern of alignment to the overall picture for the site, and all are simple earth dug graves.

b. Furnished graves.

All but one of the 22 furnished inhumations could not be closely dated. Therefore the furnishing types of all of these graves are shown in the table below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							2
2		x						1
3			x					5
4				x				1
5					x			1
12			x	x				2
13		x		x				1

Personal articles dominate the grave goods, although the actual position of many of these articles, along with the majority of the grave goods in general, are not well recorded. The personal articles recorded as worn are a brooch and a finger ring, whilst buckles and a brooch are recorded as unworn in various graves. The graves also occasionally contain equipment and pottery vessels, whilst one grave contains the remains of a dog.

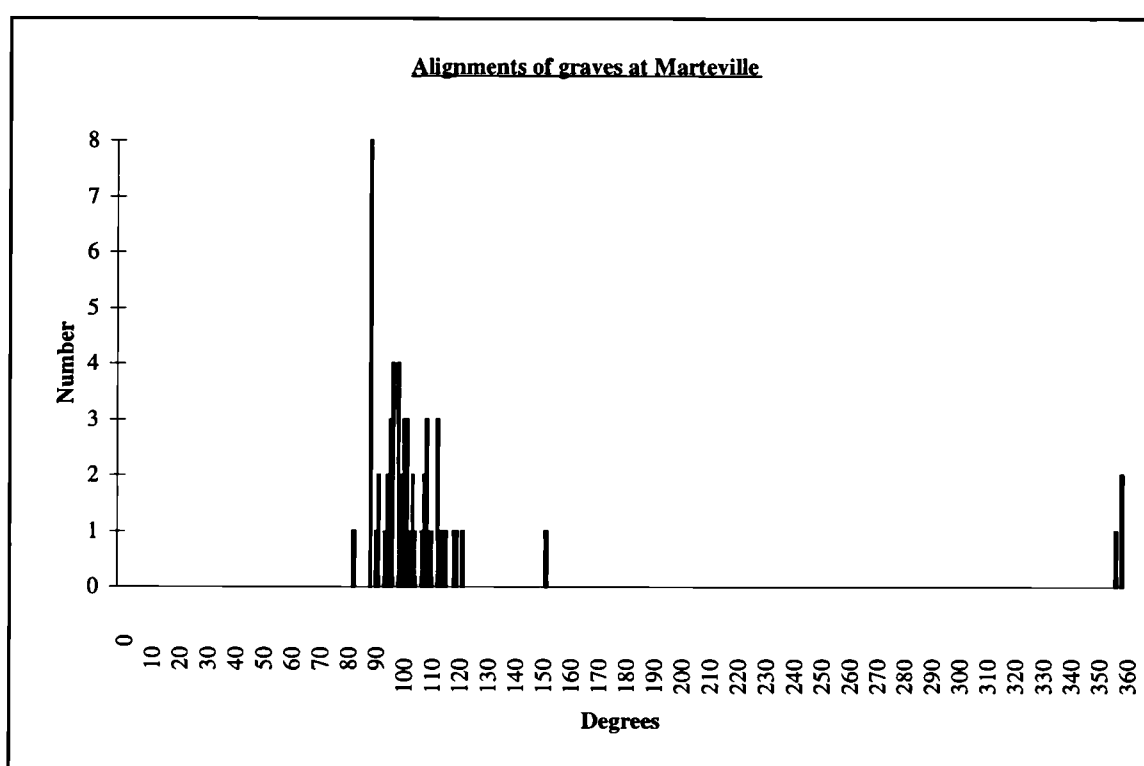
Discussion.

The small number of burials studied show a reasonable coherence of rite, with personal articles buried in many of the furnished graves. Sadly the positions of many of the grave goods are not well recorded. Personal articles dominate the grave goods, co-occurring with items of equipment. The graves containing pottery vessels and animal

remains contain no other grave goods. The cremations are furnished in a similar fashion to the majority of the inhumations.

Marteville.

The cemetery at Marteville contains 59 late Roman inhumations. Most of these are aligned with their head roughly to the east or east-south-east, although a small number have their heads to the north.

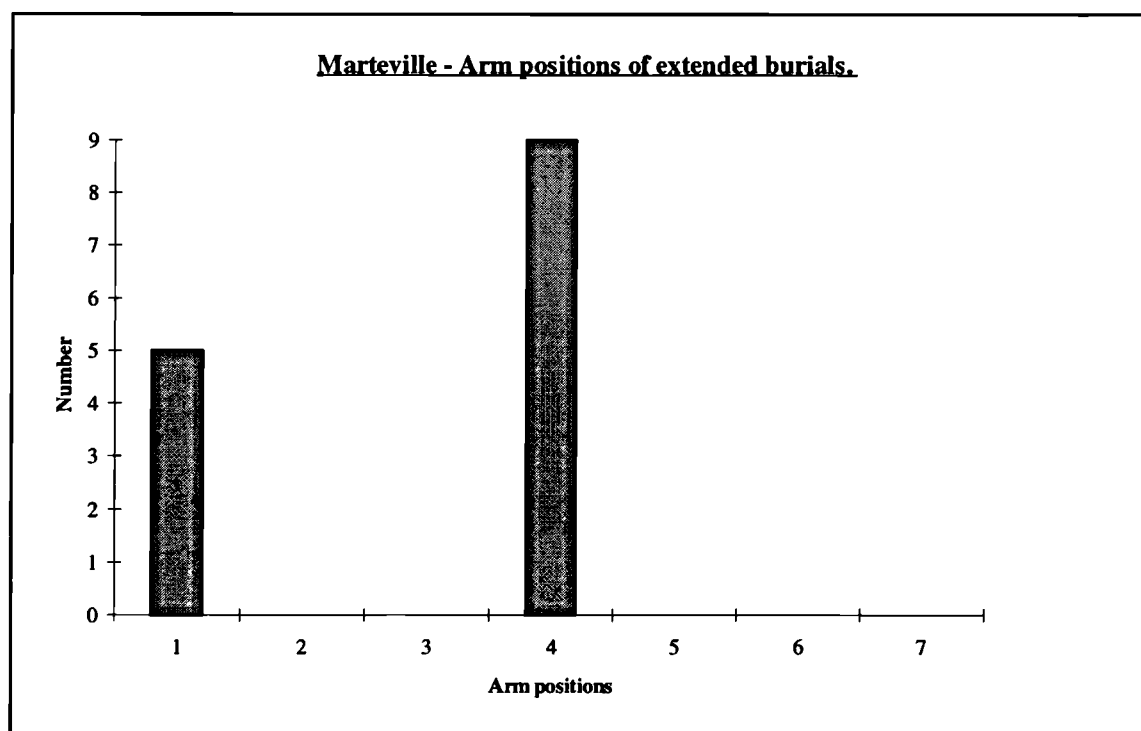


Most of the graves contain coffins. There are also a small number of sarcophagi. The remaining graves are earth dug graves. There is no pattern of alignments corresponding with grave forms. However, the figures for the proportions of furnished and unfurnished grave forms would appear to indicate that coffins were more likely to have been associated with furnished burials than simple earth graves, with the numbers of sarcophagi too few to be of any use. There are insufficient anthropological data to

study the proportions of aged and sexed individuals in relation to the grave forms and the levels of furnishing.

Grave form	Furnished	Unfurnished	Total
Un-coffined	31	8	39
Coffins	6	10	16
Sarcophagi	2	1	3
Total	39	19	58

There was no anthropological study of the dead, although grave 21 is described as a child aged 6 - 7, and therefore fits into the 0 - 9 years age group. However the positions of a number of the dead are recorded, and these are shown in the table below. Of those body positions recorded, all but two are extended and the most popular arm positions are positions 1 and 4. The two flexed burials have arm positions 2 and 4 respectively.



Unfurnished graves.

20 of the graves at Marteville are unfurnished. These show no significant deviations from the norm in their alignments. These burials were less likely to have been buried in coffins than furnished burials, but do include one of the sarcophagi.

Furnished graves.

39 graves from the site were furnished. Twenty nine of these were undated. These are dominated by pottery and glass vessels and personal articles. Items of equipment and coins are less common. Many of the graves contain combinations of furnishing types, although there is little coherence in the choice of co-occurrences. Hobnails and crossbow brooches dominate the worn personal articles, whilst buckles, pins and brooches are amongst the unworn personal articles.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Total
1	x							1
2		x						2
3			x					1
4				x				2
6							x	3
7						x		1
12			x	x				1
13		x		x				3
18	x		x					1
27	x	x		x			x	1
28	x						x	2
32	x			x			x	3
34	x	x				x	x	1
39			x				x	2
41	x	x					x	1
42				x			x	1
51	x		x				x	1
57		x					x	1
69			x			x	x	1

Dated graves.

Ten of the graves at Marteville contained dated grave goods. These were dated as follows.

Period 4. Grave 37.

Period 4/5. Grave 20.

Period 5. Graves 15, 26, 27, 35, 39 & 48.

Period 5/6. Grave 30.

Period 6. Grave 51.

This is a fairly high proportion of all of the graves on the site. However, period 5 is the only period to contain more than one grave. There is no perceptible differences in the alignments, form of body position of these graves. However, most of these contain large numbers of grave goods. Most of the graves contained personal articles, but there is no apparent change in the use of any of these over time. This is largely true of the equipment, with knives occurring in most periods, along with two axes - dated to periods 4 and 5. All of the graves of periods 4 and 5 contain coins or other vessels.

Typ e	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5	Pd 5/6	Pd 6
7						x				1		
9	x	x										1
13		x		x					1		1	
46	x	x		x		x	x	1		2		
53						x	x			1		
59		x		x		x	x			1		
69				x		x	x			1		

Discussion.

There is one group of graves which appears to belong to a group of officials or soldiers. It is characterised by the provision of buckles, knives, hobnails and occasionally crossbow brooches. These graves invariably contain unworn buckles (with any associated belt fittings unworn), usually along with knives, worn hobnails and, more rarely, crossbow brooches. Some of these graves are well furnished, with coins and glass vessels sometimes included.

Barisis-aux-Bois.

All ten of the graves excavated are inhumations, of which only one is not an earth-dug grave (grave 10 is a stone-lined grave). Eight of the graves are aligned south-east to north-west, with their head to the south-east. The other two are aligned south-west to north-east. The anthropology of the graves is not well recorded - three of the graves are male and one is female, although none are aged. Four of the graves are extended burials, but none of the arm positions is well recorded.

Furnished graves.

All of the graves are furnished. Three of these could be dated to period 3 - graves 2, 4 and 5 contained coins of the House of Constantine - whilst the rest belonged to the general period of study. Pottery and glass vessels co-occur in seven of the ten graves, with animal remains and coins forming the secondary groups of grave goods. One grave contains pottery only, and three personal articles. In each case the personal articles are hobnails, with the set in grave 5 being worn.

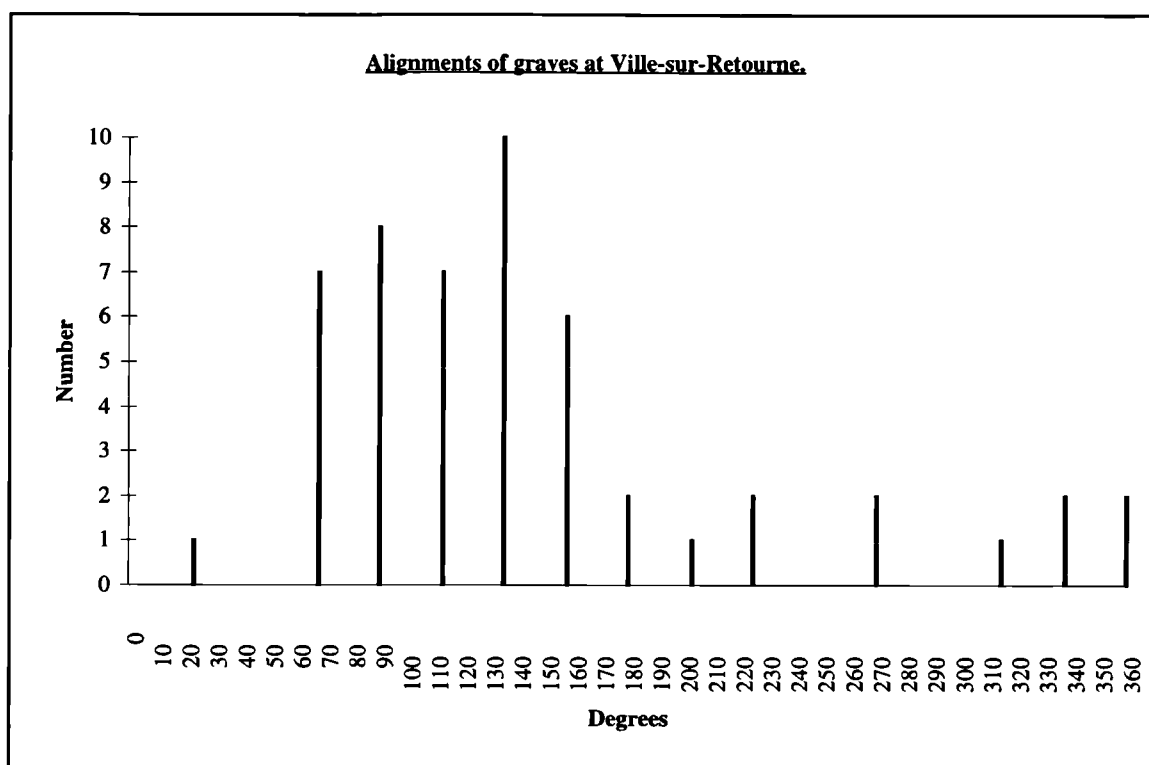
Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Undated	Period 3
1	x							1	
3			x					2	
20	x				x		x	1	
28	x						x	3	
34	x	x				x	x		1
37	x				x	x			1
68	x					x	x		1

Ville-sur-Retourne.

Sixty eight inhumations were identified as belonging to the late Roman area of the cemetery at Ville-sur-Retourne. Of these, fifteen were unexcavated, and the total studied here is 53 graves.

Alignment.

The alignments of all but two of these graves are recorded. There is a wide array of different alignments from the site, although the two largest groupings have the head of the deceased roughly towards the east and south-east.

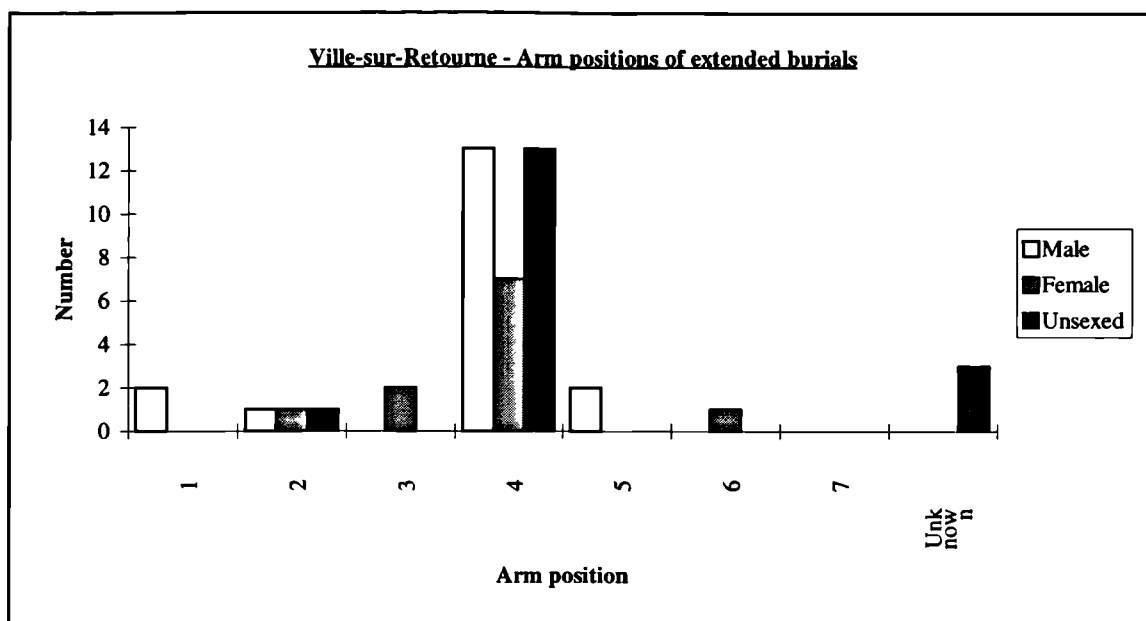


Grave form.

The majority of the graves (40 of the 53) contained wooden coffins, although there was a single tile-lined grave. Two graves were not well recorded, and the other ten graves are earth-dug graves.

Body position.

The body positions of the dead are also well recorded. All but three of the burials are extended, with the exceptions being two flexed burials (with arm positions 2 and 6 respectively) and a prone burial with an uncertain arm position. The arm positions of the extended burials can be seen below. Arm position 4 is clearly the most common, and appears to be slightly more common in male than female burials.



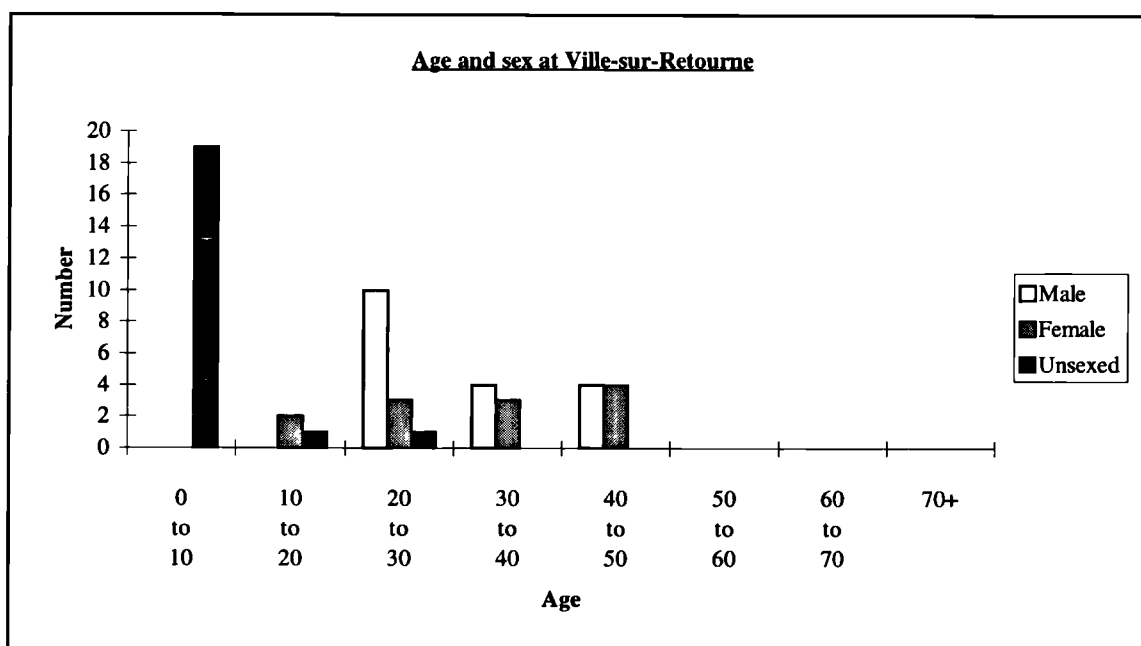
Coffins and other containers for the body.

The provision of coffins appears to be related to the age of the deceased. 27 of the 30 adult burials (90%) were buried in coffins in comparison to only 13 of the 21 child burials (61%). There also appears to be a link between the age of the deceased and the provision of grave goods, with 22 of the 30 adult burials furnished (73%) whilst only 11 of the 21 child burials are furnished (52%). This appears to be a reflection of the furnishing levels within coffins, with all but two of the furnished burials within coffins. One of the two exceptions to this is the burial within the tile grave.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	3	0	3	6	1	7	10
Coffined	5	22	27	4	9	13	40
Tile grave	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Total	8	22	30	10	11	21	51

Anthropology.

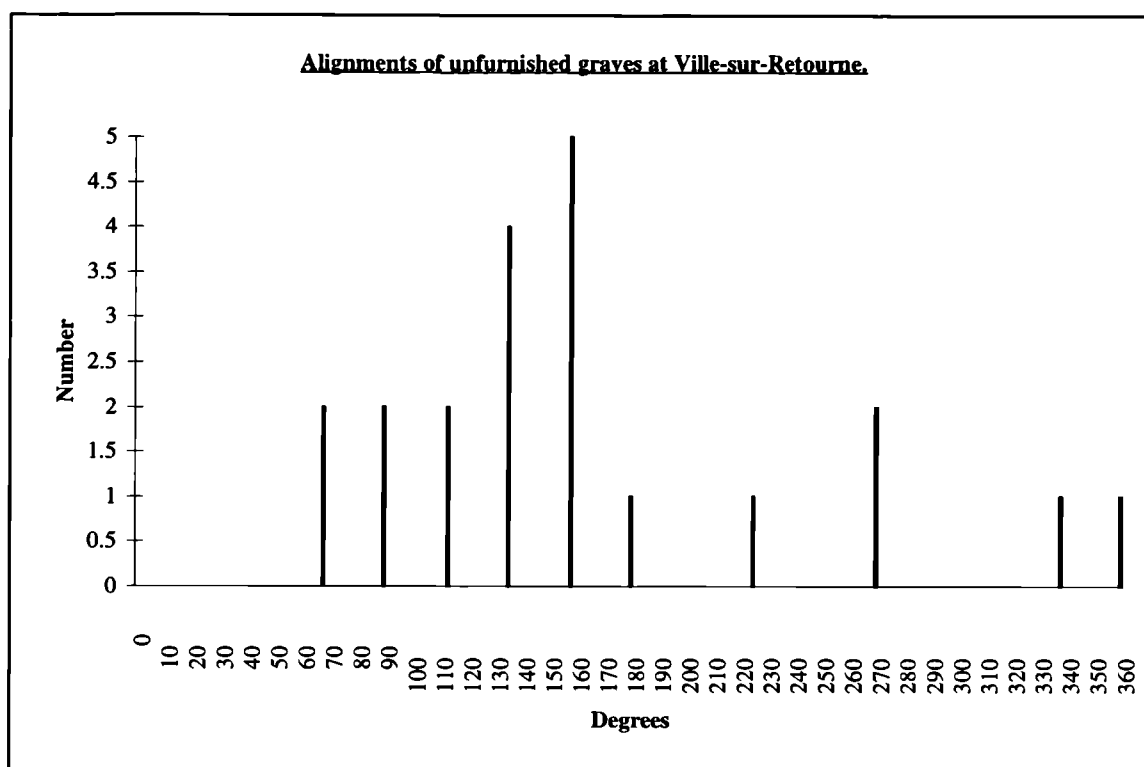
The results of the anthropological study can be seen below. There are few significant differences between the sexes, although it is perhaps a little surprising that there is a peak of male burials in the 20-30 age range and that there are no individuals aged over 50. There is a large number of burials of infants and children aged between 0 and 10 years old.



Undated graves.

Unfurnished graves.

Twenty one of the graves were unfurnished. The alignments for these graves show little deviation from the overall pattern of alignment on the site, and suggest that alignment was not determined by the level of furnishing in the grave.



It has already been established that the furnishing of graves is linked to both grave form and age, and that therefore the unfurnished graves contain as smaller proportion of coffins than is the norm for the site.

Furnished graves.

Twenty one furnished graves could not be closely dated. These are shown in the table below. Pottery and personal articles are common grave goods, with the former commonly placed by the feet and the latter generally worn (the unworn personal articles consist of hobnails found around the feet of the dead but which were not definitely worn an a buckle placed by the feet of one burial). The majority of personal articles are hobnails, with a finger ring, a necklace, four hairpins and the buckle mentioned above the only exceptions. Pottery vessels are commonly placed by the feet, or more rarely by the head. Animal remains are relatively common as grave goods, with chicken and pig remains the most popular. The graves that contain coins include one grave with a coin hoard in the fill. It is uncertain whether this hoard, of 1520 coins was intended as a placed deposition in the fill of the grave or was a later deposit (and therefore the coins

cannot be used to date the grave). The pattern that emerges is one of graves relatively simply furnished with pottery, hobnails and animal remains, with personal articles generally worn and coins and glass vessels buried in higher status graves. There is no apparent pattern to the items of equipment buried in some graves.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							2
2		x						4
3			x					1
4				x				1
7						x		2
8	x	x			x			1
9	x	x						1
12			x	x				1
13		x		x				1
19	x				x			1
25	x	x		x				1
41	x	x					x	1
45	x		x		x		x	1
54	x		x			x		1
71			x		x		x	1
72	x		x	x	x			1

Dated graves.

Eleven of the graves could be closely dated. These are as follows.

Period 1. Graves 161 & 163,

Period 2. Grave 162.

Period 3. Grave 156.

Period 3/4. Grave 164.

Period 4. Graves 159 & 181.

Period 4/5. Graves 165, 166, 186 & 188.

There is no coherence to the alignments of any of these dated groups, and therefore no coherent picture of change over time. Only one of the dated graves does not contain a coffin (with the one exception being a tile grave). Given the small numbers of dated graves from the site, little can be gained from the anthropology.

All of the dated graves contain extended burials, and where the arm positions are recorded, all but one have arm position 4. The numbers of the dated graves which contain pottery are too small to enable close comparison.

The furnishing types of these graves are shown below. These graves contain a higher proportion of coins and glass vessels than the undated graves, which seems likely to be the result of the methods of dating. These graves contain the best furnished graves from the site, with relatively large numbers of grave goods. These follow a fairly similar pattern of furnishing to the undated graves, with pottery vessels and personal articles to the fore, along with the higher proportions of coins and glass vessels mentioned above. It seems likely that these dated graves represent the high status graves in view of their form and the variety and numbers of grave goods.

Typ e	Pot	Wp a	Upa	Equ	An R	Cns	Ot V	Pd 1	Pd 2	Pd 3	Pd 3/4	Pd 4	Pd 4/5
0											1		
3			x					1					
7						x				1			
10			x			x						1	
29	x	x		x			x					1	
33	x	x			x		x						1
34	x	x				x	x						1
53						x	x	1					
67	x			x	x	x	x		1				
70	x		x	x	x								2

Discussion.

Over half of the graves from the site are furnished, with the provision of coffins and the age of the individuals buried having an influence on the provision of grave goods. It appears that the choice of both coffins and grave goods are indicative of social status, with children afforded less respect in terms of the provision of these items. It also appears that there may be a degree of stratification in the numbers and types of grave goods provided. The graves which could be dated include the best furnished graves, both in terms of the numbers of items buried and in terms of the potential value (notably

the glass vessels). It seems likely that these represent the most wealthy individuals rather than a deviant group.

Poitiers.

There were a number of graves excavated near the rampart at Poitiers, but only one is recorded in any detail. The form and alignment of the grave are not recorded, neither is the anthropology or the body position of the individual. However, the grave does contain a jug, two bowls, a dish, a beaker, a coin and a glass flask (furnishing type 68). The position of these items in the grave is not recorded, but the grave clearly dates to period 3. This dating is provided by the coin, which was struck in 283 AD.

Verteuil.

The lead coffin from Verteuil is unfurnished. There is no data on the alignment, anthropology or body position of the dead. The lead sarcophagus is dated stylistically to the second half of the third century (Buisson, 1984, p. 285).

Cenon.

The burial at Cenon is apparently unique in form. It consists of a burial within a lead coffin which is itself apparently placed on a wooden bier. It is the burial of a child, possibly about 6 years of age. The position of the body and arms is not recorded. The only grave goods from the grave are two glass flasks (furnishing type 6). The positions of these grave goods are not recorded.

Saint-Jean de Conques.

Two inhumations from this site were studied. Both are buried in coffins within a tile lining, and both are aligned north-east to south-west, with their heads to the north-east. The exact form that these two graves took is uncertain. Both burials are extended on their backs with their arms in position 4. There was no proper anthropological study of the bodies, but both were adults.

Both graves are furnished. Grave 1 contains pottery vessels and an axe (furnishing type 50), whilst the second contains six pottery vessels (furnishing type 1). Both graves were roughly dated by their pottery to the late third or fourth centuries AD. Grave 2 contains a copy of a north African dish.

Clapiès.

Fourteen of the eighteen graves at Clapiès (Villeneuve-les-Béziers) are late Roman in date. All but one of these were aligned on an east-west axis. The exception is grave 3, which is placed on a north-south axis. In none of the cases is it clear at which end of the grave the head lies. Six of the graves are tile graves, six contain coffins (including one of the tile graves) and three graves are earth-dug graves. There was no anthropological study of the dead. The only recorded burial position is that of the individual in grave 12, who was buried prone. This is presumably only mentioned because it departs from the norm of the cemetery.

Unfurnished graves.

Four of the graves were unfurnished. Three of these are tile graves and the fourth is an earth grave.

Furnished graves.

Ten of the inhumations were furnished, with two graves closely dated by the coins they contained (grave 17 dated to period 4 and grave 1 dated to period 6). All but

three of the graves contain pottery only, with the exceptions the two graves to contain coins only and a grave containing two oyster shells and pottery vessels.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Undated	Pd 4	Pd 6
1	x							7		
7						x			1	1
19	x				x			1		

Fontlongue.

There are fourteen inhumations from two excavations from the site. Eleven of these are tile graves, with the other three being amphora graves. The alignment of three of the graves are known, all of which are all aligned west-east. The eleven graves from the earlier excavations were also laid out on an east-west axis, but their actual alignment is unrecorded. There is no anthropological study of the dead, but it is clear that the three amphora burials contained infants. None of the graves appeared to contain wooden coffins. The body positions of two of the graves are known - both are extended, and have arm positions 2 and 5 respectively.

Unfurnished graves. All of the tile graves are unfurnished, and the only grave goods provided with the amphora burials are the amphorae themselves. It is debatable whether these are intended as grave goods or not. I believe that that these merely act as a container in the same way as a coffin or a cinerary urn.

Mas de Garric.

Excavations uncovered 4 graves at Mas de Garric. Their alignments were not recorded. All of these differ in form. They are an amphora grave, a tile grave, a grave containing a coffin and a stone sarcophagus. Only one body position is recorded - the burial in the earth grave was extended with arm position 5. There is limited

anthropological data available, with one unsexed child in the amphora burial and a female aged between 40 and 50 years old in the earth-dug grave.

Unfurnished graves.

Two of the four graves are unfurnished - the tile grave and the sarcophagus.

Furnished graves.

The only grave goods from the site are pottery vessels, with both graves of furnishing type 1. The positions of these can be seen below. Grave 3 appears to be the only graves where the pottery appears solely as grave goods. The amphora in grave 1 formed a container for the body, and may not represent an intentional offering.

Lansargues.

The site, also known as Quatre-Carières, was excavated in the summer of 1976. In all, a total of 12 inhumations were excavated. All of the graves at Lansargues are aligned roughly north-south, with their heads to the north. Seven of the twelve graves use coffins, two are tile-lined and one is an amphora grave (where the body is wholly or partially covered by fragments of, or contained within, an amphora). The other two graves are earth dug graves. There appears to have been no full anthropological study of the dead, and the only record of the body position mentions that all of the dead were extended, but does not record their arm positions. All of the graves excavated contained grave goods.

Furnished graves.

Nine of the graves were only roughly dated. All of these, with one exception, contain pottery vessels. The one exception contains worn finger rings. One grave also contains unworn beads and another contains a coin. The amphora from the amphora burial is recorded as the only grave good from the burial. The remainder of the graves

containing pottery vessels generally contained three or more vessels, with a slight preference for deposition by the feet over the head.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							6
2		x						1
18	x		X					1
48	x					x		1

Dated graves.

Only three of the graves could be closely dated (the coin of Faustina in grave 5 appears to be residual). These are as follows:

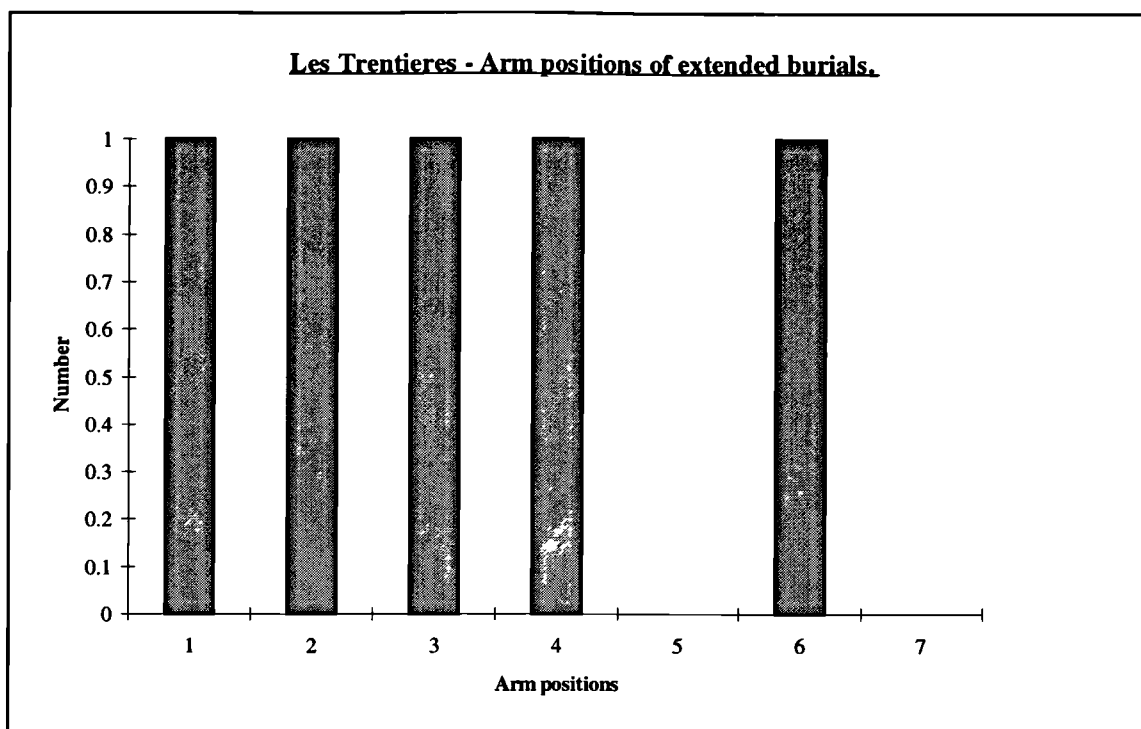
Period 3. Graves 3 & 10.

Period 5. Grave 11.

These graves all contain coins, with one also containing pottery vessels. The coins in the two graves dated to period 3 are placed in the mouths of the deceased.

Les Trentieres.

Six inhumations were excavated at Les Trentieres in 1982. Three of the graves are tile graves, two contain coffins and the sixth is an amphora grave. All of the graves are aligned on a north-south axis, with their heads to the south (4 graves) or north (1 grave). The alignment of the sixth grave is not recorded. There is no proper anthropological study of the deceased, but it is clear that the amphora grave, grave 7, contained a neonate. However, some of the body positions are recorded. All of the bodies are extended, with the arm positions differing.



Unfurnished graves.

Two of the six graves at Les Trentieres were unfurnished. Both of these were tile graves.

Furnished graves.

All of the furnished graves contain pottery vessels. This can be seen in the table below. The majority are placed by the legs. The amphora in grave 7 was used as a container for the body. Two of the graves contain animal remains in the form of a chicken and eggs. Where the pottery is placed by the feet, it is always placed adjacent to the right foot of the deceased.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							2
19	x				x			2

La Brèche.

The site only lies 600m from the River Rhone, and consists of some 12 inhumations. Unfortunately, graves 1, 2 & 3 were destroyed by the earth-moving machines. Only the grave goods from these graves were found, and could not be attributed to any specific graves. All three of these were tile graves, and contained a variety of grave goods including 4 bowls, 2 dishes and a jug.

The predominant alignment of graves at La Brèche is roughly east west, with five buried with their head to the east. Two graves are also aligned west-east, and a third north-south. Seven of the twelve graves are tile-lined (although three of these were too badly damaged for anything else about them to be recorded). One contains a coffin, another is a stone-built tomb and the other three appear to be simple earth dug graves. There are no anthropological data for the burials from this site, but the body positions are recorded. All of the recorded burials are extended burials, and five of the six recorded arm positions are arm position 4. The individual in grave 7 initially appears to have been decapitated - the skull lies between the legs - but it appears that the skull does not belong to the body buried.

Unfurnished graves.

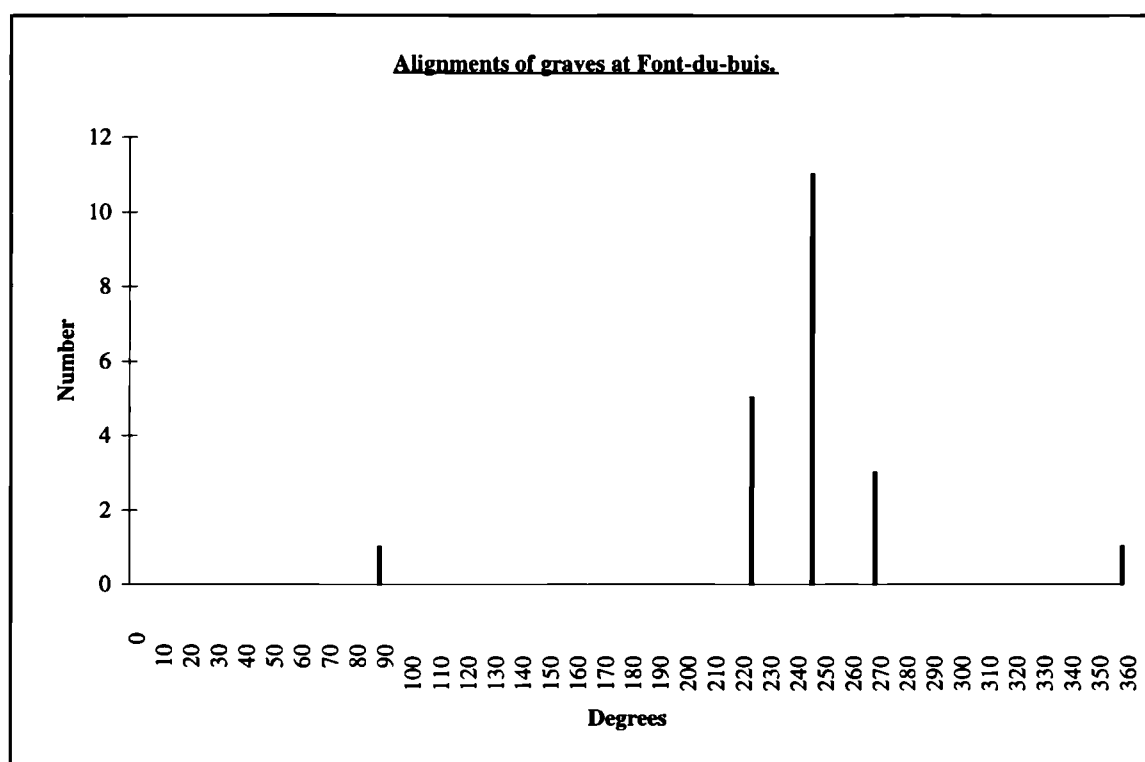
Four of the nine undamaged graves are unfurnished - including grave 7 mentioned above. These include all three earth dug graves and the stone-built tomb (grave 7) containing the body with the wrong skull.

Furnished graves.

None of the five furnished graves could be closely dated. All contained pottery vessels, with two also containing a buckle and chicken remains respectively. These two graves also contained more vessels than those graves that contained pottery only. There are only a few accurately recorded grave goods. It is worth noting that the furnished graves are all tile graves, whilst the stone-built tomb and earth dug graves are unfurnished.

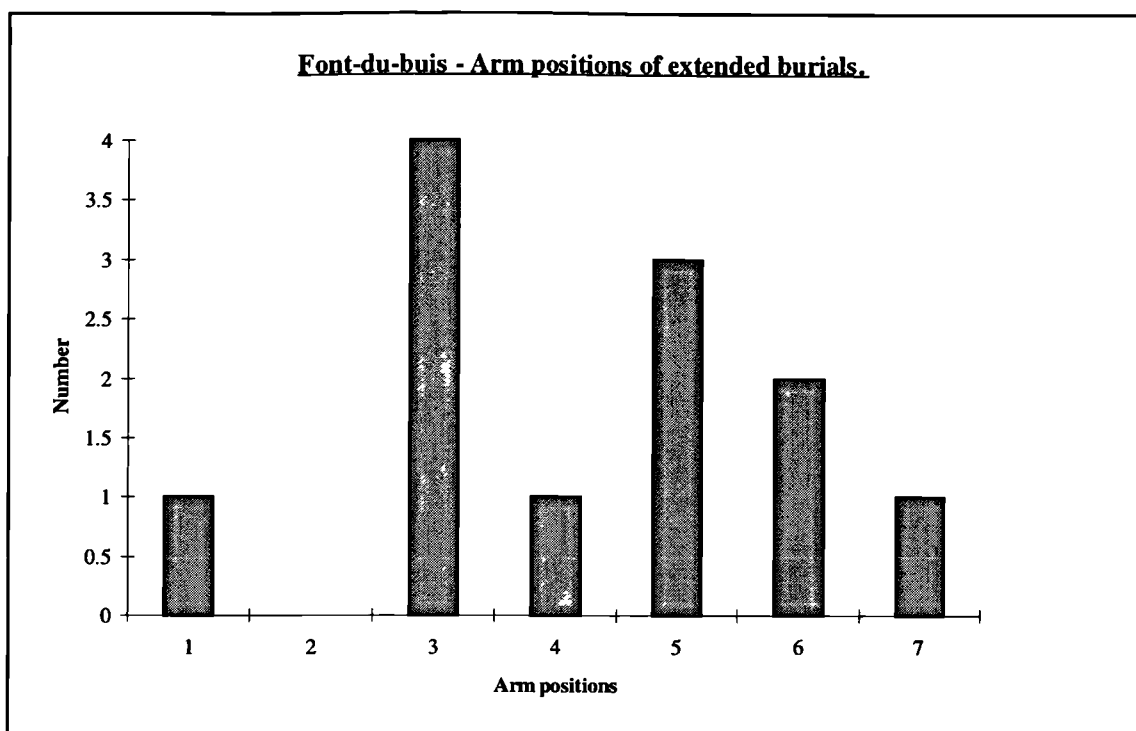
Font du Buis.

The twenty three inhumations at Font-du-Buis are late Roman, although the cremations from the site appear to belong to the early empire. Most of the dead have their head placed in a range from the south-west through to the west, with the majority towards the west-south-west.



The predominant grave form at Font-du-Buis is stone-lined earth dug graves. There are nine such graves, five tile-lined graves, one coffin and seven earth-dug graves. The anthropological study of these graves appears to have been limited. Two unsexed individuals were aged as a neonate and a 10 year old, whilst one was identified as a 30 year old female.

The body position of the dead is slightly better recorded. Where the positions are recorded, the dead are invariably extended, with only the arm positions varying. There is a good deal of variation in the arm positions, with arm position 3 marginally the most common.



Grave 11 contains a coffin, which was identified by the presence of coffin nails.

Unfurnished graves.

Nearly half (11) of the 23 graves are unfurnished. Of these, nine are stone-lined graves, whilst the other two are a tile grave and an earth grave. These show a similar pattern of alignments to the site as a whole - most have their heads to the west-south-west. There is no evidence to suggest that these burials represent any particular section of the population.

Furnished graves.

Of the furnished graves, ten could not be closely dated. These consisted of six graves containing pottery only, one containing an unworn personal article only, two graves containing a combination of the two and a single grave containing pottery vessels and an egg. The positions of few of the grave goods were well recorded, but where they are, the pottery vessels are invariably placed by the feet.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							6
3			x					1
18	x		x					2
19	x				x			1

The three other graves could be dated:

Period 4. Graves 11 & 12.

Period 5. Grave 9.

These graves are all dated by the coins used as grave goods. The two graves dated to period 4 contain pottery in addition to the coins, whilst the grave dated to period 5 contains 2 coins, both placed on the eyes of the deceased.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Period 4	Period 5
7						x			1
48	x					x		2	

Nativau.

Excavations at Nativau between 1985 and 1987 uncovered eighteen graves. However, six of these were first century inhumations (Sahuc *et al.* 1994, p. 138). The other twelve are inhumations of the late Roman period. The alignments of eight of these are recorded, but there are no clear groupings. One has its head roughly to the north east, two to the east, two to the west and three to the north-west. The predominant grave form was the stone-lined grave. Five of the twelve were stone-lined, with three earth dug graves, two tile-lined graves, a sarcophagus and an ossuary making up the remainder. The ossuary is unusual. It contained the remains of four adults in a small space (69 x 36 x 48cm), and appeared to have no protection for the bones or any grave goods. One of the stone-lined graves - grave 18 - contained nothing but a skull in a small cist, which may have been a symbolic deposit. None of these grave forms seem to tie in with the

alignment groups. The limited amount of anthropology from the site is shown in the table below. The only individuals aged are between 10 and 19 years old, whilst three are male and four female.

Age	0 - 10	10 - 20	20 - 30	30 - 40	40 - 50	50 - 60	60 - 70	70+	?	Total
Male	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Female	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Unsexed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8

The body positions are rarely well recorded. All of those recorded are extended burials, with the arm positions differing (with one each of arm positions 1, 2, 4 and 5).

Unfurnished graves.

Eight of the twelve graves at Nativau were unfurnished. Both of the tile graves are furnished, as are one of the earth dug graves and one of the stone-lined graves. The majority of the stone-lined graves are unfurnished, as are the ossuary and the single skull. Both of the graves aligned west-east were furnished.

Furnished graves.

There are four furnished graves. Of these, grave 13 could be dated to period 4 by the coins it contains. This grave contained pottery vessels placed by the head, animal remains and nine coins placed by the head. Two of the graves contained unworn personal articles only, in the form of pins placed by the head and feet. The fourth grave contained two coins only.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
3			x					2
7						x		1
37	x				X	x		1

La Guérine.

Ten inhumations at la Guérine dated to the period of the study (although the site did contain a number of cremations dated to the earlier Empire, and there seems to have been a smooth transition to inhumation at some point within the third century - none of the cremations showed any evidence of dating to the late third or fourth century). Three of the inhumations are aligned with their heads roughly to the west, with two with their heads to the north-west and east.

Seven of the burials were within tile graves whilst two others were lined with stones. Only one body is aged and sexed - it belonged to a woman aged between 20 and 30 years of age, whilst two are recorded as children. The body positions of five of the dead are recorded in detail, and in every case, the deceased is extended on its back. The child in grave 3 may well have been decapitated, and its head placed between the legs. The arm positions of three of the graves are recorded - one is position 1 and two are position 3.

Four of the ten graves are unfurnished. Of the six that are furnished, two contain pottery only, two contain unworn personal articles (both buckles) and one contains three glass vessels. Only one grave contains a combination of furnishing groups, with pottery coins and a glass vessel. The furnishing types of these graves are shown in the table below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							2
3			x					2
6							x	1
68	x					x	x	1

None of these graves was closely dated.

Costebelle.

All but one of the twenty six graves from the site are inhumations dating to the late Roman period. Four of these were destroyed, but the grave forms of the others are recorded. The predominant alignment of these graves is west-east, with nine of the graves aligned in this fashion. There are smaller groups of graves aligned south-north (five graves) and east-west (two graves). The others were either too badly damaged for their alignment to be recorded or only their axis is known.

Most of the graves are tile-lined graves - 14 of the 21 recorded. Three of the 21 are stone-lined with tile covers and four are amphora burials. All of the west-east graves are either tile graves or stone-lined graves.

Information regarding the age and sex of the deceased is scarce. Five individuals are aged between 0 and 10, none of which were sexed. Two of these are buried in amphorae. Seven individuals are identified as male, of which one was aged between 10 and 20, whilst of the seven females identified, one was aged between 50 and 60.

Unfurnished graves. Seventeen of the twenty five graves are unfurnished. These include all but three of the tile graves and all of the stone-lined graves. All of the west-east graves are unfurnished. The graves on the western half of the site contain the majority of the graves aligned on a north-south axis along with the vast majority of grave goods.

Furnished graves.

Eight of the graves are furnished. Six of these contain pottery only, one contains unworn personal articles only and one contains pottery, unworn articles and a coin. The position of the grave goods is rarely recorded in detail. The graves to contain pottery only include all four of the amphora burials.

Furnishing type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
-----------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	--------

1	x						6
3			x				1
49	x		x			x	1

Discussion.

There appears to be a correlation between the alignment of a grave and the provision of grave goods. The west-east graves are unfurnished, with the furnished graves sharing minority alignments. The furnished graves (excluding the amphora graves which contain pottery by default) consist of tile graves. There is also a spatial difference between the furnished and unfurnished graves with the former confined to the western half of the site.

La Calade.

Only three of the graves at La Calade belonged to the period of study. All of these were buried with their heads roughly to the east, and all were tile-lined. One also contained a coffin within the tile lining. The burials were of an unsexed child and two adult females, one of which was roughly 50 years old. The body position for two of the three graves was recorded. Both burials were extended, with arm positions 5 and 7 respectively.

Furnished graves.

All three of the graves were furnished, but none could be closely dated. Two contained pottery vessels only, whilst the third contained pottery vessels, unworn personal articles and two glass vessels. There is little apparent coherence to the positioning of these items.

Krefeld-Gellep.

Krefeld-Gellep is a key site in more ways than one. It lies fairly near the centre of the study area and, more importantly, is by far the largest late Roman cemetery yet excavated. Excavations began in 1934 and continued at least until 1974. To date, some 3749 graves have been published (Pirling 1966, 1974, 1979 and 1989). Not all of these belong to the late Roman period. The cemetery seems to have begun in the first century AD as the cemetery for the fort of Krefeld, and continued in use throughout the Roman period and well into the post Roman 'Frankish' period. As the focus of this study are the graves of the third and fourth centuries, the first step is to use the chronology to identify those graves which do not belong to those periods and to disregard them.

The cremations.

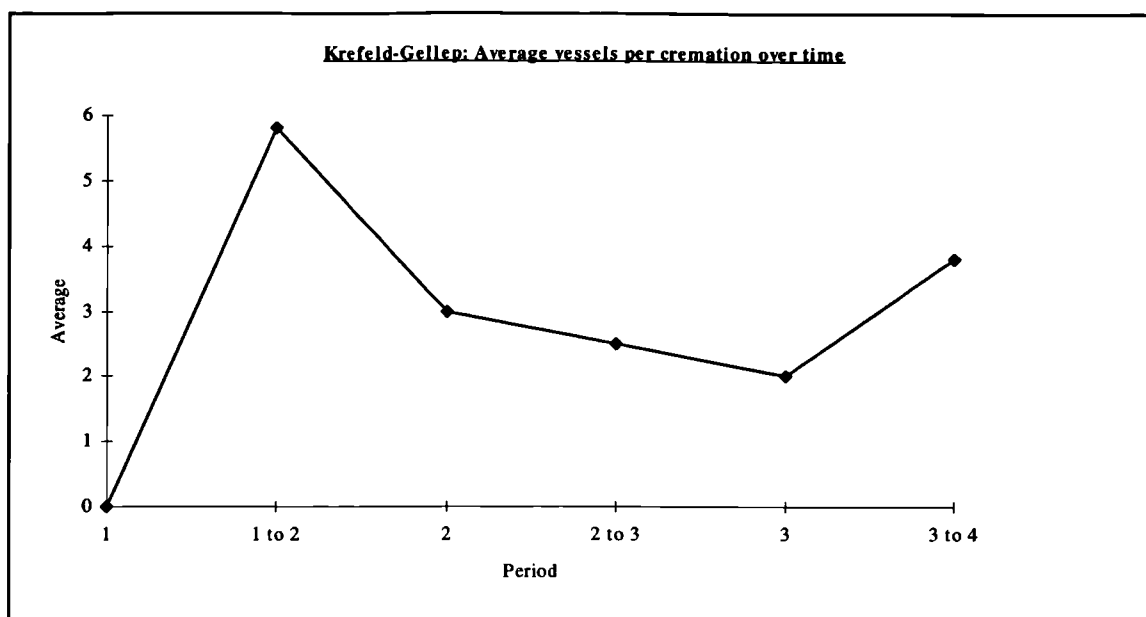
There are 208 cremations or probable cremations from the site. These date from the pre-Roman Iron Age, throughout the early and late Roman periods and into the post-Roman period. Eleven graves date to the Iron Age, and can be excluded from this study. There are also 5 positively post-Roman cremations. Having excluded these graves, we are left with the Roman cremations. The majority of these belong to the first, second and early third centuries, but as neither accurate plans or a detailed pottery analysis have yet been published to complement the grave catalogue published in 1989, it is difficult to date the graves contained in this last volume. As a result of this, the majority of the cremations of the Roman period could not be closely dated. However, twenty seven of the 192 Roman cremations dated to the period of study. These cremations are interesting, as they are deposited at a time when inhumation is the majority rite, and they may either represent the survival of the earlier cremation rite, or the introduction of a new rite.

The undated cremations are predominantly un-urned, although a minority are urned and one appears to be an in situ cremation. No anthropological study of the cremated bone has yet been published. There are few differences between these forms in terms of the grave goods. Pottery dominates the furnishing, occasionally involving the

deposition of an oil lamp, and glass vessels are fairly common. It does appear that the un-urned cremations are more likely to contain items of equipment and coins but less likely to contain personal articles than the urned cremations, but these differences are not coherent enough to suggest separate rites. There is nothing about the furnishing of the possible *bustum* to suggest significantly different levels of furnishing from the more common forms of cremation.

Finally we can look at some of these cremations in terms of their distribution within the cemetery. Of those we can plot on a plan, the majority are spread throughout the area to the south-west of Enclosures 1 and 2. Most of the graves in this area are inhumations and date to the late Roman period. This may indicate that the urned cremations in this area may date to this period as well, or that the inhumations infringed on an earlier area of cremations.

The dated cremations range in date from period 1/2 (AD 240-300) to period 3/4 (AD300-364). These are predominantly un-urned cremations (five in period 1/2, three in period 2/3, two in period 3 and eleven in period 3/4). The only exceptions to this are the urned cremation and the probable *bustum* in period 3/4. As with the undated cremations, the predominant grave goods are pottery vessels. An analysis of the average number of vessels over time is interesting. There appears to be a gradual decline over time from period 2 to period 3, but an increase in the use of vessels in period 3/4. This may be a result of the small numbers of cremations in each period, or the upturn in the last period in which the cremations were used may be a reaction to an external factor, such as the introduction of Christianity.



Personal articles also seem fairly common grave goods, along with glass vessels, although their incidence is too infrequent to analyse changes over time. Effectively the dated cremations can be split into two groups.

1. Pottery vessels are common. Coins are only common grave goods in period 3. Glass vessels and personal articles are infrequent.
2. Really only a single grave - grave 533 contains pottery, personal articles (a bracelet, brooch and a pendant) a large number of items of equipment, nineteen coins (of which a number are early silver coins, and are unlikely to have come from within the Empire, possibly as donatives from a campaign) and five glass vessels.

All of the cremations that could be dated, except for grave 533, belong to type 1. The furnishing of these graves does not seem to be linked to their form in any way.

The cremations - a general over-view.

The cremations at Krefeld-Gellep mainly belong to the first, second and third centuries AD, but there are a few which can be dated to the period of this study. Unfortunately, the majority are published in the latest of the Krefeld-Gellep volumes, and have not had their pottery or cemetery plan published. Where graves can be dated to

the period of study, the majority appear to be the result of the continuation of the earlier cremation practice as a minority rite into the late third and fourth centuries AD. There seems to be little difference in the levels and types of grave furnishing between the cremations in this period of study and those which are 'undated', which includes those of earlier periods. The practice seems to have been to place the cremated bone in the grave pit with a selection of ceramic or glass vessels, and occasionally with personal articles or even items of equipment. The grave furnishing does not appear to be affected by the cremated bone being placed in a vessel. It seems likely that, as in the inhumations, the glassware was viewed as a status item, and that the status graves were those containing glassware. The use of coins as grave goods seems to be more common for the graves of the third and fourth centuries than in the earlier cremations, but this does not seem to be a new rite, merely a development of the old.

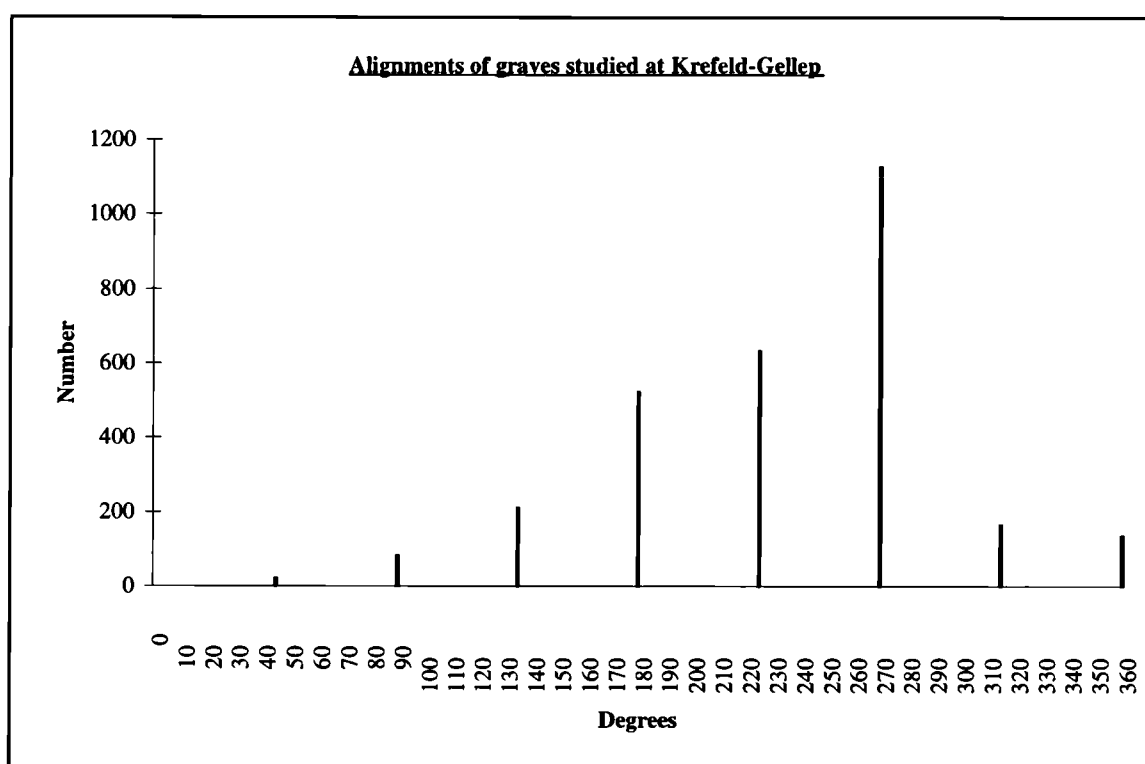
Grave 533 is the exception amongst the cremations. It dates to after AD298, and as well as containing a significant number of ceramic and glass vessels - more than any other single cremation - it contains a unique set of equipment, the largest group of coins in any one grave (a group covering a long period of time and containing a number of silver coins) and an atypical set of personal articles, including a glass disc with a Medusa head, a fish shaped brooch, a pumice amulet and a purse. Whether this is intrusive or not is hard to say. Most of these grave goods can be paralleled in contemporary inhumations, but not in the contemporary cremations.

b. Inhumations.

There are some 3541 inhumations published so far from Krefeld-Gellep. Of these, some 508 could be identified as containing post-Roman grave goods and have therefore been excluded from this study. This leaves us with some 3033 Roman or potentially Roman inhumations to study. A reasonable proportion of these can be dated.

Alignments.

The graph showing the alignments for the graves studied is shown below. The main peak is of graves aligned west-east, with graves aligned south-west to north-east and south-north also prominent. It should be noted that not all of the graves included below belong to the Roman period - however, they are included as potential Roman graves as they cannot be positively proven as dating to the post-Roman period.



Grave form.

Although the dimensions of the majority of the graves at Krefeld-Gellep are recorded, the actual form of the grave is rarely recorded in detail. The majority of graves are simple earth dug graves, which often contain coffins. However, there are a number of other grave forms which can be studied because they have distinctive features.

The first of these are tile graves. There are eight graves which are wholly or partially lined by tiles. These are graves 48, 83, 217, 323, 367, 1999, 2872 and 3082. Only one of these, grave 2872, contains any grave goods. These date the grave to between AD330 and AD364. The lining of the grave with tiles reflects a fair amount of

care expended, and yet these graves are unfurnished except for the badges of rank of one individual. Three of these graves are aligned south-west to north-east, three are aligned west-east and one aligned north-south. The contrast between the care taken in constructing the tile graves and the dearth of grave goods suggests that the latter is the result of a choice rather than the poverty of the deceased. These graves may be intrusive, and may be linked to the introduction of worn personal articles in period 3.

There are also seven double graves - graves 132/3, 134/5, 138/9, 1082/3, 1107a & b, 2896 & 2950. Again, these are very sparsely furnished. Only graves 1107 and 2896 contain grave goods. These all show different alignments, and the only graves which could be dated are graves 2896, which dates to between AD 330 and AD 364, and 1107, which dates to after AD 390. As none of the bones survives well enough to enable anthropological sexing, it is impossible to assess whether the graves contain a male and a female, or two individuals of the same sex. Unfortunately, the grave goods cannot help us with this.

There is only one stone sarcophagus of the Roman period at Krefeld-Gellep. This was placed in grave 2843 and contained no grave goods other than a glass fragment. This grave is aligned south-north. As with the tile graves, we seem to have a great deal of expenditure on the protection of the body, and little on the grave goods.

Body position.

Unfortunately, the preservation of bone at Krefeld-Gellep is very poor, and it is impossible to talk about the body positions of the deceased in any significant detail. There are examples where bone preservation does seem to have been fairly reasonable, but these are few and not described - they only appear in the form of illustrations. In the light of this, there seems little of value to be gained from a study of the highly limited data available.

Coffins.

Of the 3024 potentially Roman or positively Roman graves, 1195 (some 39.5%) contain coffins. Coffins at Krefeld-Gellep have been identified through the presence of wood stains in the soil as well as by the *in situ* occurrence of coffin nails. The fact that coffins without nails have been identified suggests that the majority, if not all, of the coffins from the site have been identified. Unfortunately, the lack of anthropological data has meant that it is impossible to assess whether there is any relation between the sex or age of the individual and the provision of a coffin. The only information that may be of use is the identification of some graves as being inhumations of children - mainly on the basis of the size of the grave. The table below shows the numbers of furnished and unfurnished 'child' and 'adult' graves which are coffined and un-coffined.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total.	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total.	Overall Total.
Un coffined	1339	270	1609	199	21	220	1829
Coffined	551	511	1062	75	58	133	1195
Total	1890	781	2671	274	79	353	3024

47.6% of coffined graves are furnished. This compares with a total of 28.4 % of the graves studied. It appears that furnishing coffin graves is more common than furnishing un-coffined graves. 37.6 % of the children's graves are coffined. This compares well with the percentage of 'adult' inhumations in coffins - which stands at 39.8%. An overall total of 43.6% of the coffined child graves were furnished. This is higher than the adult coffins - 40.6%. Here at least a reasonable comparison can be drawn. Of the 353 graves identified as child graves, only 79 (22.4%) contained grave goods and 274 (77.6%) were unfurnished. This figure falls even further when the coffined graves are excluded. From this, we can see that the children, when buried, were as likely as adults to be provided with a coffin, and that when they were buried in coffins, nearly half of them were provided with grave goods - again, a similar proportion to the adults. However, if the child is not buried in a coffin, it is far less likely to be

provided with grave goods than one that is. . The picture for the adult graves does not differ significantly, with 29.2% of the graves being furnished and 70.8% unfurnished.

Anthropology.

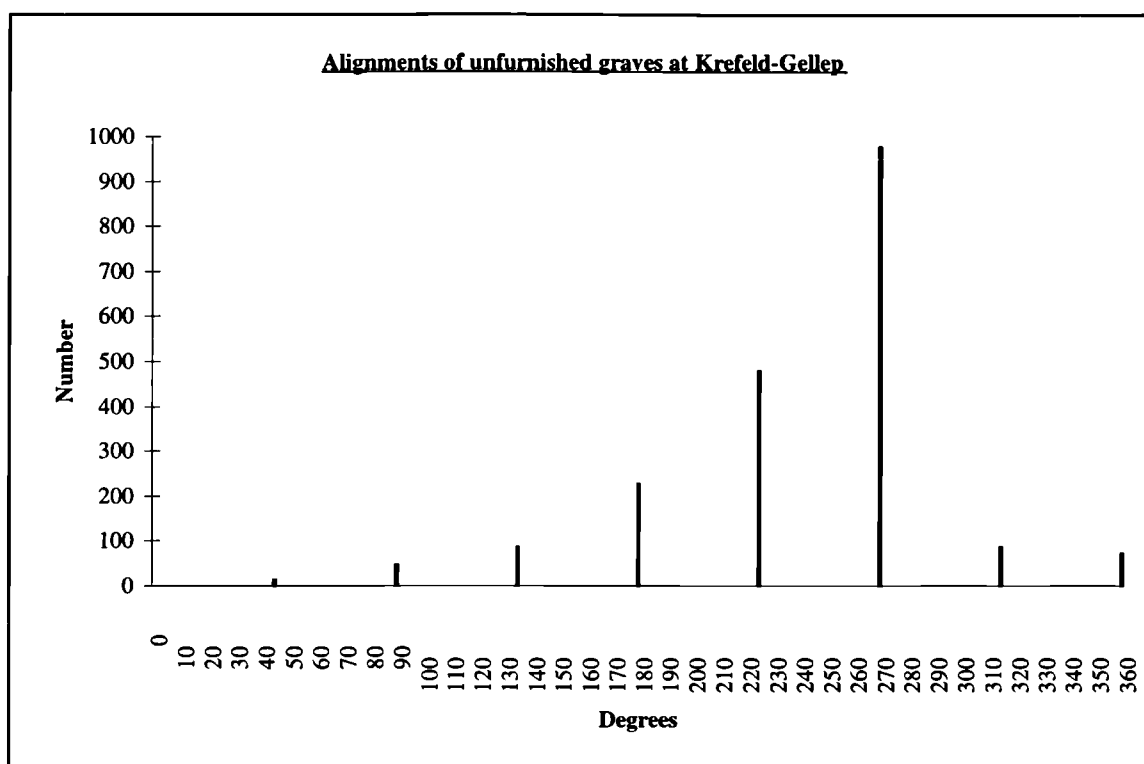
As has already been stated, the preservation of bone at Krefeld-Gellep is so poor that any attempt at studying the anthropology of the cemetery population is futile.

Undated graves.

There are 2490 undated but potentially Roman graves on the site, of which 365 contain grave goods. These are dominated by pottery vessels and personal articles. Because these graves are undated, their levels of furnishing are generally lower than in the dated graves, and as a result any groups identified in these graves may be affected by this.

a. Unfurnished graves.

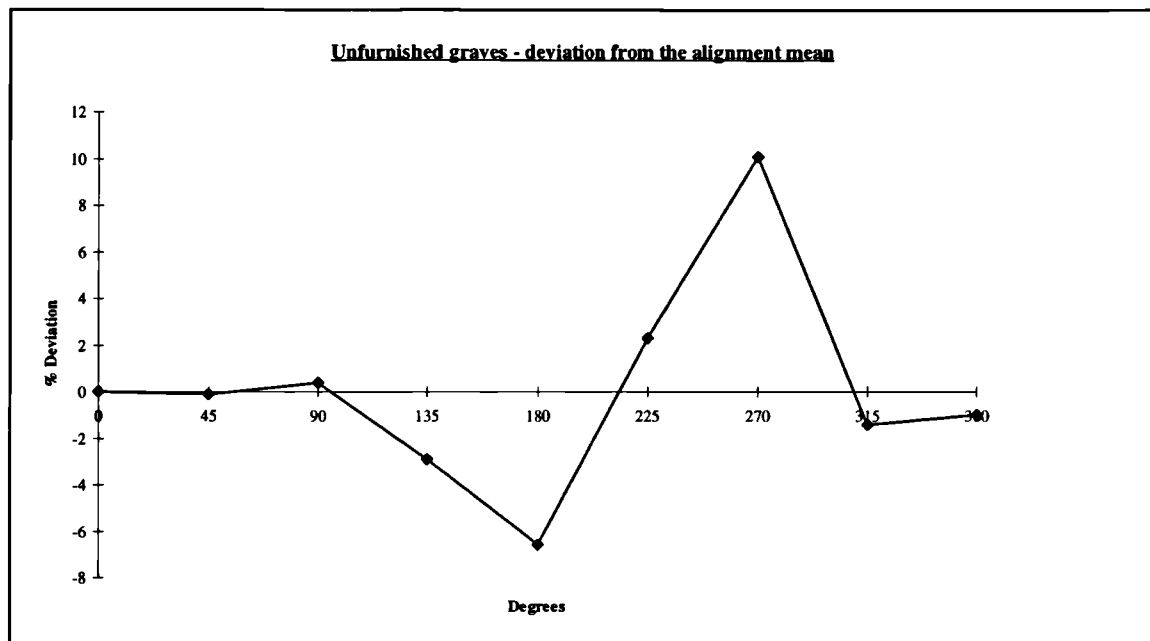
There are some 2164 unfurnished and potentially Roman graves at Krefeld-Gellep. The graph for the numbers of graves of each alignment is shown below.



It differs little from the picture for the whole site (shown above), with the main peaks the same. However, the proportions of each alignment differ.

The graph below shows the deviation of these alignments from the mean for the whole site. The actual deviations are slight, but suggest that if a grave is aligned south-north, it is slightly less likely to be un-furnished than any other alignment, and if a grave is aligned west-east, it is slightly more likely to be un-furnished. These differences are not major, but need explaining. The south-north alignment seems to be closely associated with graves which could be dated to the first half of the fourth century (see below). It may well be that during this period, levels of grave furnishing were at their highest (see discussion on the levels of grave furnishing below), which not only results in the large numbers of graves being positively dated to this period, but also in the slightly lower numbers of graves of this alignment containing no grave goods. The slightly higher than average results for graves aligned west-east may be also be a reflection of the levels of grave furnishing over time. This alignment seems increasingly common during the last half of the fourth century, when the levels of grave furnishing seem to be declining slightly, and so this could be a reflection of this. To what extent the

shift in favour of this alignment and the decline in furnishing levels is caused either directly or indirectly by the spread of Christianity is difficult to establish.



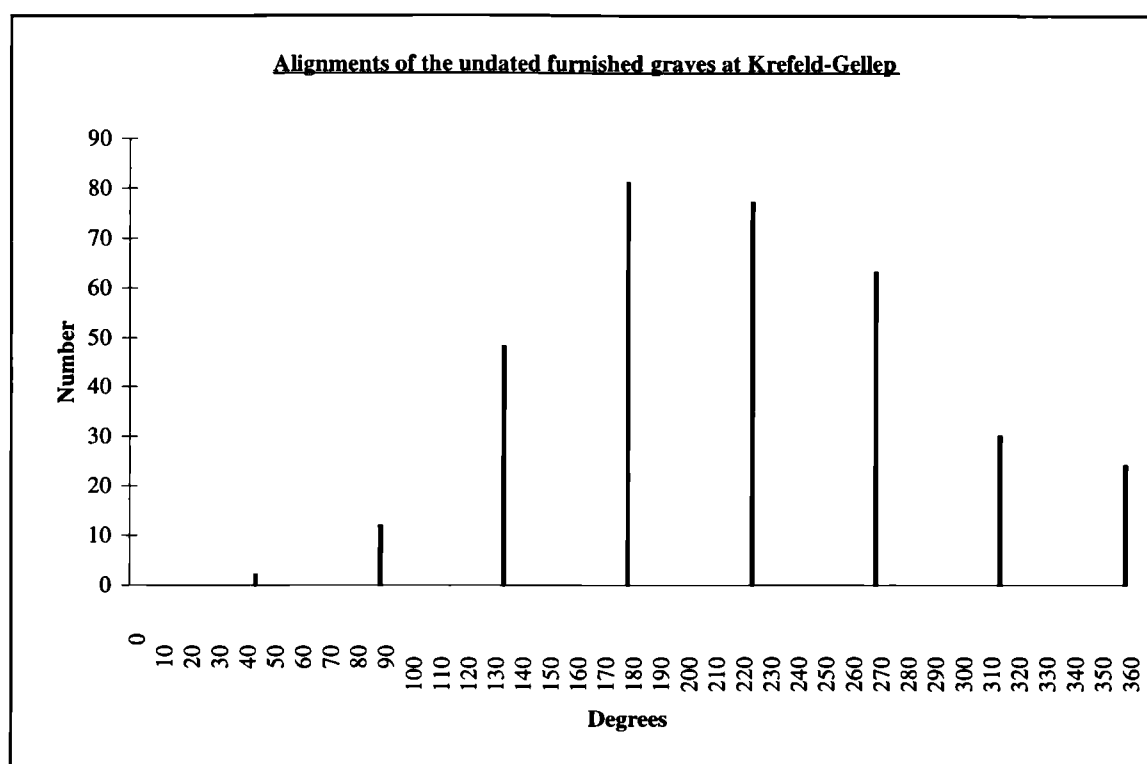
There is little else that we can say about the unfurnished graves beyond that various grave forms are represented in this grouping. The majority are simple earth-dug graves, but seven are tile graves and one is a stone sarcophagus. 626 of the graves also contain wooden coffins. This group of unfurnished graves remains the largest of all studied, and it is important to note that those graves which contain grave goods are a minority.

b. Furnished graves.

In order to identify potentially intrusive burial practices, it is important to identify both the norm for the cemetery and any other groups which differ from this norm and show a reasonable internal coherence. It has already been established above that the majority of graves at Krefeld-Gellep are unfurnished. However, beyond establishing that these have a slightly higher ratio of graves aligned west-east than the furnished graves and may be increasingly common during the second half of the fourth century, there is little further that can be done with these graves. A number of different

groups can be identified in the furnished graves, of which the majority probably represent the normal range of furnished graves within the cemetery, with only a few potentially unusual or intrusive.

The alignments for the undated furnished graves are shown below. The largest peaks of alignments are of graves aligned south-north and south-west to north-east.

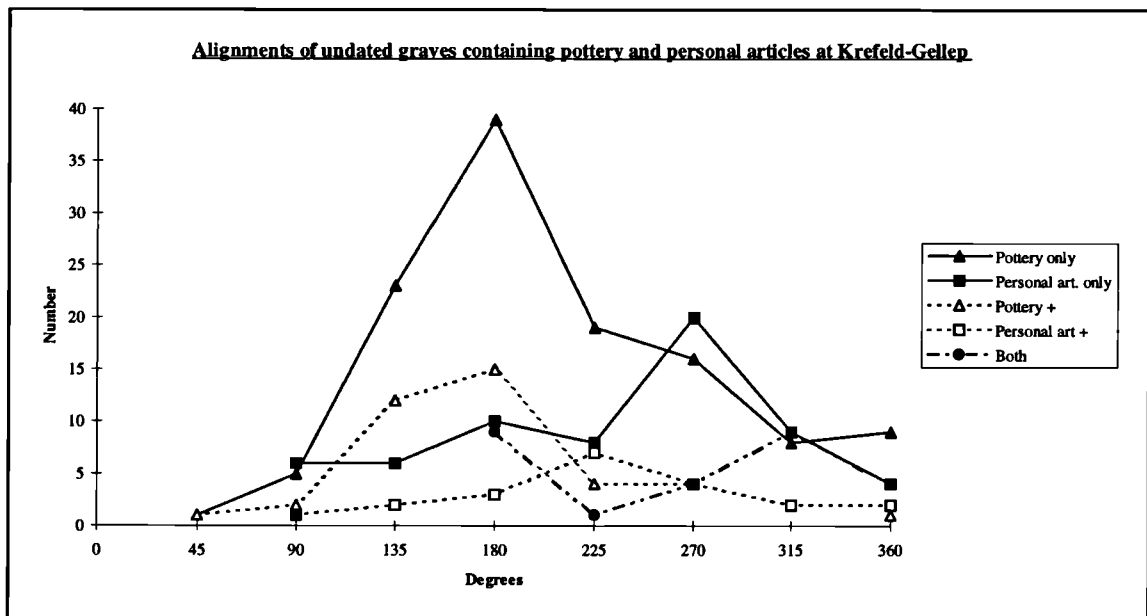


Coffins were used as grave containers in 205 of the 349 graves for which the form was recorded (roughly 59%). The furnishing types of these graves are shown in the table below. In addition to the large number of graves containing pottery vessels only, there are a significant number of graves in which personal articles are worn. These are predominantly either jewellery (bracelets, beads, hairpins and pendants) or hobnails from boots. The latter may not have been intended as deliberate inclusions, but merely point to the dead being clothed at burial. Worn personal articles do not commonly co-occur with pottery vessels, or indeed with other grave goods. This is also true of all the graves containing unworn personal articles, which have very similar levels of furnishing, and the only difference between the two groups seems to lie in whether the

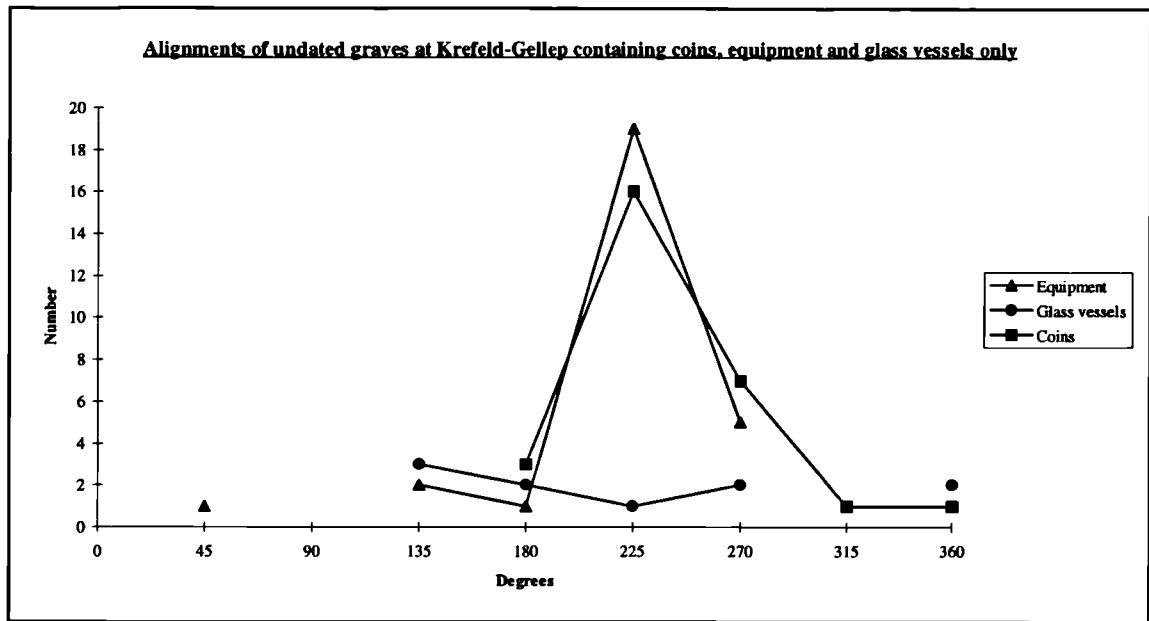
personal articles are worn or not. This is likely to be due in part to the inclusion of personal articles of unknown position in the 'unworn' group. However, it does suggest that the graves containing personal articles may not be closely associated with the provision of pottery vessels in a grave. Two rough groupings can be seen in this data, the first of which contains the vast majority of the pottery, and the second containing the personal articles.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							137
2		x						21
3			x					45
4				x				30
6							x	10
7						x		31
9	x	x						4
10			x			x		2
12			x	x				5
13		x		x				1
16		x			x			1
17			x		x			1
18	x		x					15
24		x				x		2
25	x	x		x				2
28	x						x	21
29	x	x		x			x	2
39			x				x	6
42				x			x	1
43			x	x			x	1
48	x					x		7
50	x			x				6
51	x		x				x	4
52				x		x		2
54	x		x			x		1
57		x					x	1
62		x				x	x	1
68	x					x	x	1
73	x			x		x	x	2
74	x		x			x	x	1

A closer analysis of the graves containing pottery and personal articles can be seen below. It is clear that the majority of graves containing pottery are aligned south north (this is true both of the graves containing pottery only and those with co-occurrences with grave goods other than personal articles - the 'pottery +' group). The graves containing personal articles however have west-east (personal articles only) and south west-north east (personal articles +) peaks of alignment. The graves containing both pottery and personal articles show peaks of alignments corresponding to south-north and north west-south east alignments. It seems reasonable to conclude that the grouping of graves based on the grave goods is supported by the differing alignments shown by these graves.



The graph below shows the alignments of graves containing coins, equipment and glass vessels respectively. It is clear that both items of equipment and coins occur in numbers in graves aligned south west-north east, whilst glass vessels have no particular peak of alignment. From this study, it appears that there is a fairly strong link between the grave goods in a grave and its alignment.



These differences however are only partially reflected in the use of coffins. Similar proportions of graves containing pottery only and personal articles only are buried along with coffins (63% each). Graves containing items of equipment only and coins only are less likely to occur with coffins at 45% and 47% respectively, whilst there are higher proportions of glass vessels at 72%. The overall figure for the graves containing combinations of these various grave goods is 65%. It seems likely that certain grave goods may be indicative of social status, with equipment and coins apparently the least important, pottery and personal articles relatively so and glass vessels the best indicators of social status, providing that the assumption relating coffins and status is correct.

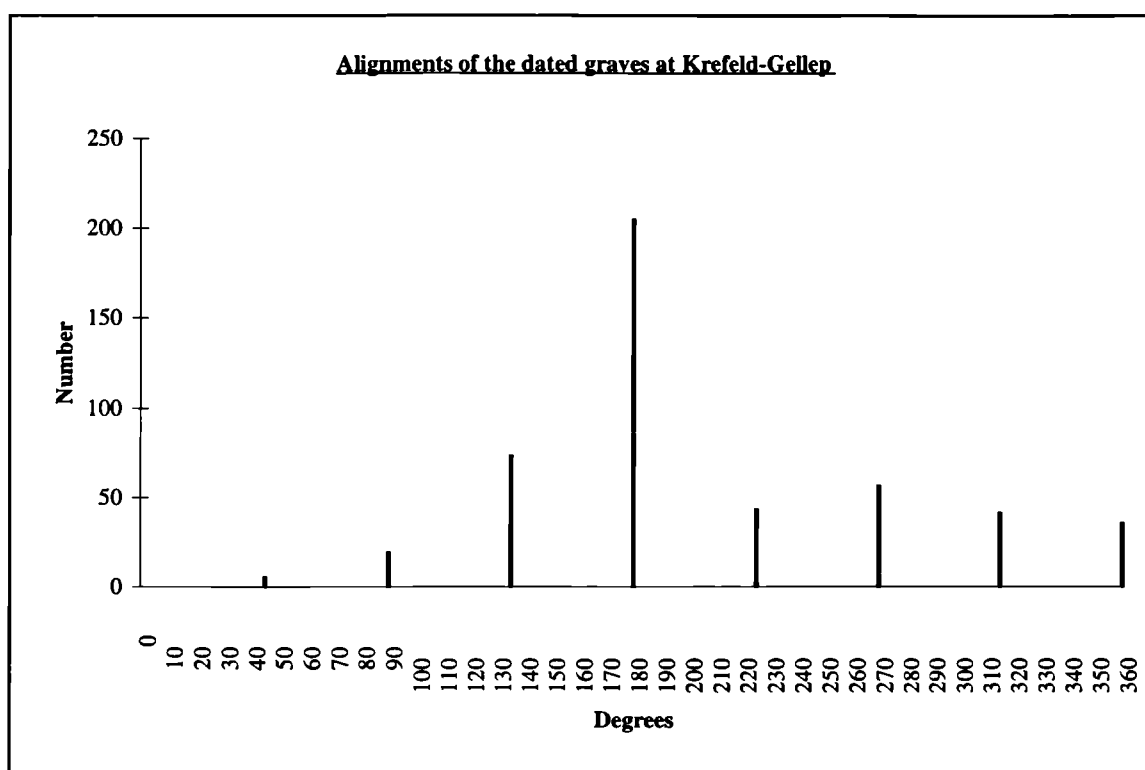
The dated inhumations.

495 of the inhumations could be dated.

Alignment.

The intention of this study is to look at each of the periods of the chronology in terms of the alignments of the graves that could be dated to that period. The graph below

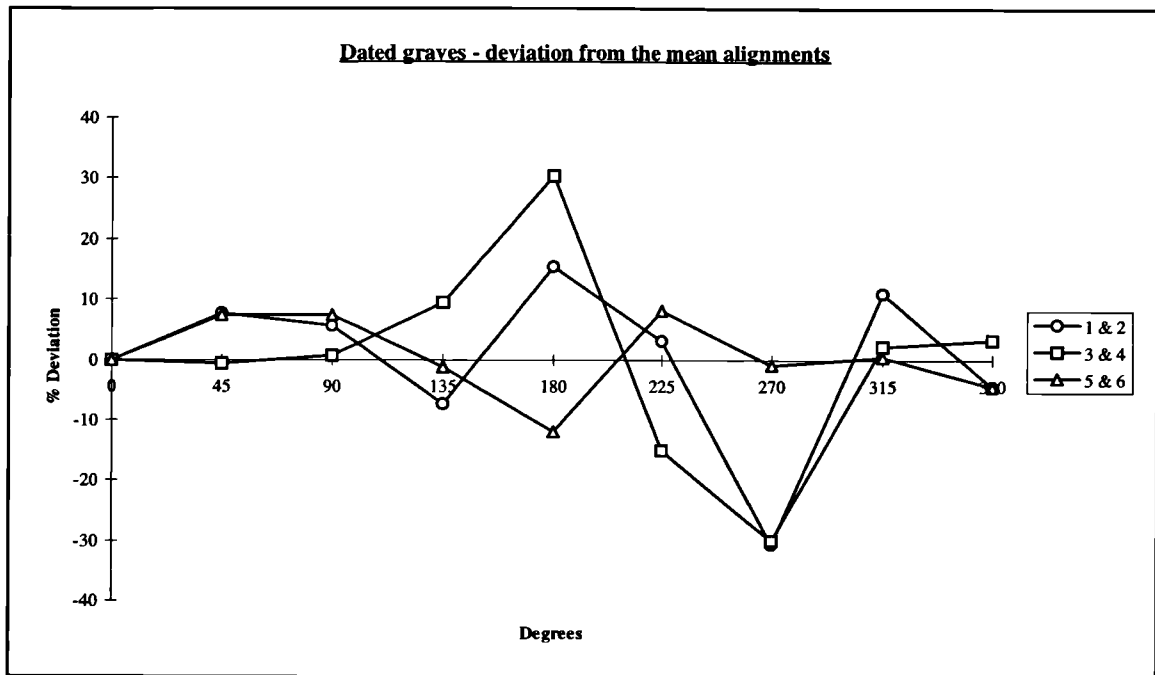
shows the overall numbers of the differing alignments of this group. The largest peak is of graves aligned south-north, with west-east graves only a minority group.



An analysis of the changes in alignment over time is shown below. This suggests that the first four periods are dominated by graves aligned south-north, and the last two periods dominated by graves aligned west-east and to a lesser extent south-west to north-east. Given the overall predominance on the site of graves aligned west-east and south-west to north-east, it is perhaps surprising that these do not dominate the temporal picture. It would appear that there is a shift in the popularity of different alignments over time. The change appears to date to Period 4 - to between AD 330 and AD 364 - and appears to be a gradual shift rather than a sudden and all-encompassing change. This shift can be clearly seen in the graph below, which shows the deviation of the alignments of Periods 1 and 2 (Series 1), Periods 3 and 4 (Series 2) and Periods 5 and 6 (Series 3) from the mean for the site.

Series 1 is slightly above the average for graves aligned north-east-south-west and east-west, but drops slightly below average for those aligned south-east to north-

west. It deviates most where graves aligned south-north and south-west to north-east are concerned. In both these cases, the graves of this series are above the mean for the cemetery as a whole. The readings for the graves aligned north-west to south-east and north-south deviate little from the norm, although it is possibly worth noticing that the number of graves aligned west-east are some 32.3% below the average for the cemetery.



The deviations shown by Series 2 - Periods 3 and 4 - are greater and perhaps more significant. As with Series 1, the graves aligned north-east-south-west and east-west are very close to the mean of these alignments throughout the site. There is a noticeable deviation from the mean where the south-east to north-west and south-north graves are concerned. Both of these are fairly significant deviations, with the latter being some 33.6% higher than would be expected. This is followed by significant absences of graves aligned south-west to north-east and south-north. Indeed, the latter, at 33.4% is almost exactly the reverse of the high level of graves aligned south-north, and is also very similar to the absence of these graves from Series 1. Again, the graves aligned north-west to south-east and north-south are more or less in the proportions we would expect.

The figures for Series 3 differ considerably from those of Series 1 and 2. Initially, it is similar to these in that there is little deviation from the norm for graves aligned north-east to south-west, east-west and south-east to north-west. The deviations from the norm are far less pronounced than was the case for Series 1 and 2. For the first time, there are fewer graves aligned south-north than we would expect, and a few more of those aligned south-west to north-east. Interestingly, there are still fewer graves aligned west-east than expected, but this gap is small, especially when viewed in light of the large deficiencies in graves of this alignment of the earlier two series. As with the first two series, the graves aligned north-west to south-east and north-south are fairly close to the norm.

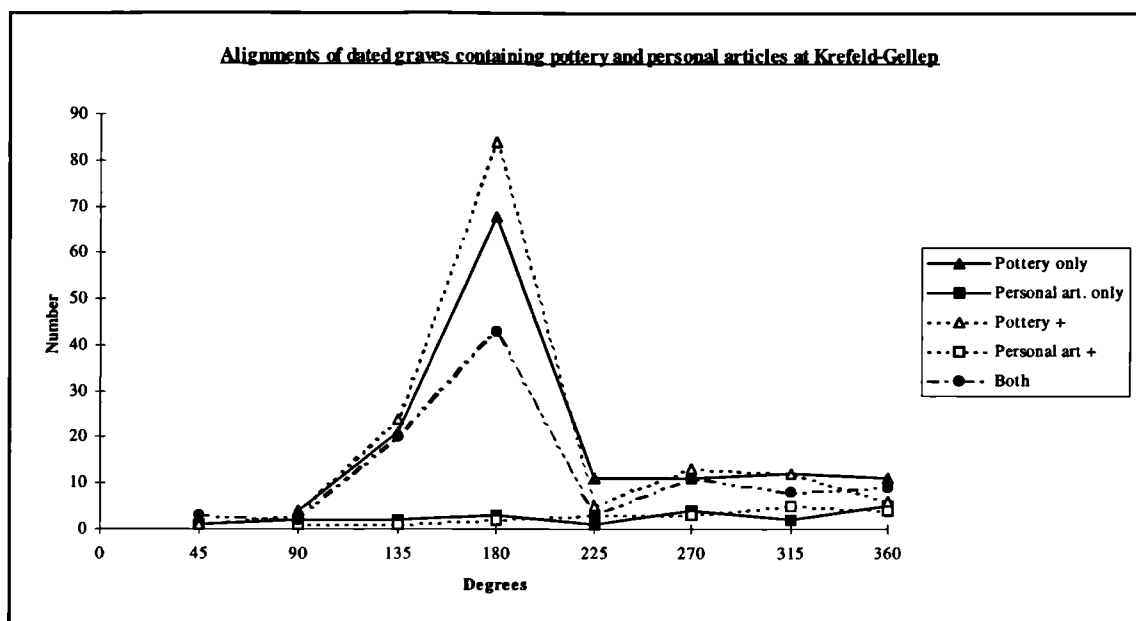
The major deviations from the norm in these three series are in those graves aligned south-north and west-east, whilst the rest more or less behave themselves. Generally, the early periods are high in graves aligned south-north and low in west-east graves. The latter period behaves itself much better, and is only slightly lower in terms of graves aligned south-north and west-east. From this it seems fairly safe to conclude that south-north graves are likely to belong to an earlier period.

The general levels of furnishing are similar to those shown in the undated graves, although there are higher proportions of graves containing coins and fewer containing glass vessels and single forms of grave goods. The overall total of furnishing types are shown in the table below.

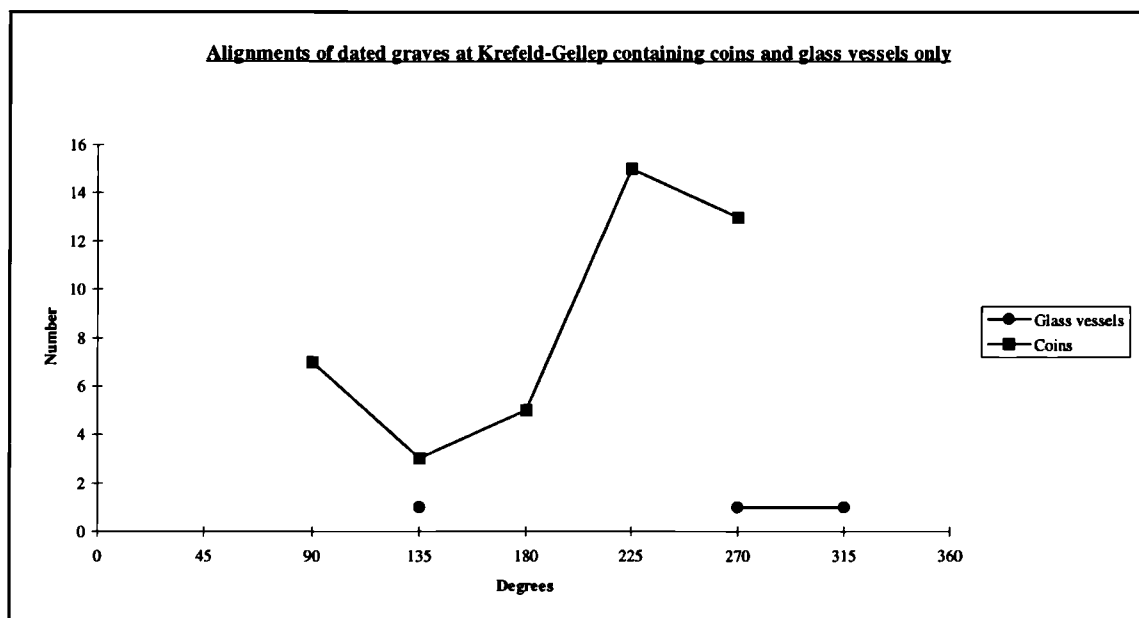
Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							161
2		x						8
3			x					12
6							x	3
7						x		45
9	x	x						8
10			x			x		6
12					x	x		4
18	x		x					16
22	x			X		x		3
23	x	x				x		5

25	x	x		X				1
26	x		x	X				2
27	x		x	X			x	5
28	x						x	76
29	x	x		X			x	2
30	x		x	X		x	x	8
32	x			X			x	9
34	x	x				x	x	2
39			x				x	4
41	x	x					x	6
42				X			x	1
46	x	x		X		x	x	4
48	x					x		32
49	x		x			x		3
50	x			X				9
51	x		x				x	21
52				X		x		3
53						x	x	4
54	x		x			x		11
55	x		x	X		x		3
56			x	X		x		2
62		x				x	x	1
63			x			x	x	3
68	x					x	x	21
73	x			x		x	x	8
74	x		x			x	x	7

Pottery vessels dominate the grave goods, either as the only grave goods or in combination with other forms, notably coins and glass vessels. The graph below shows the differences in the range of alignments of those graves containing pottery only, those containing personal articles only, those with co-occurrences involving other grave goods and those where both pottery and personal articles co-occur. It is clear that the graves containing pottery but no personal articles are usually to be aligned south-north, whilst the smaller number of graves containing personal articles but no pottery have west-east and north west-south east peaks of alignment. In graves containing both pottery and personal articles, the predominant alignment is again south-north, suggesting that the choice of personal articles is secondary to pottery in determining the alignment of the grave.



The graph below shows the proportion of different alignments for dated graves containing coins and glass vessels only. These are similar to the results from the undated graves, with a peak of graves containing coins aligned south west-north east, and no apparent common alignment for graves containing glass vessels only. There are no dated graves containing items of equipment only.



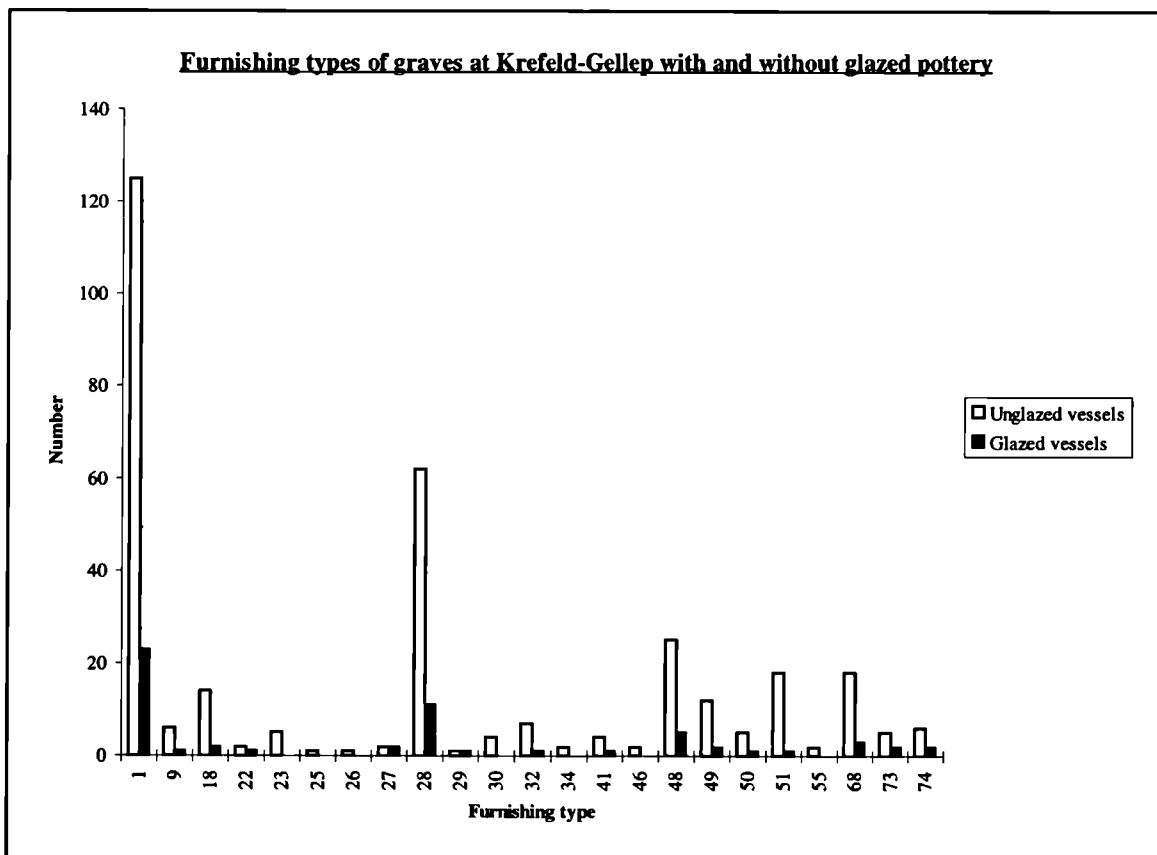
The correlation between the provision of grave goods and burial within coffins is similar to that identified in the undated graves. 62% of the graves containing pottery only used coffins, compared to some 70% of personal articles. The latter is slightly higher than the undated graves, but the sample size is small. All three of the graves containing glass vessels only contained coffins. The figure for graves containing coins is similar to that of the undated graves at 49%, whilst the overall figure for graves containing combinations of these grave goods is 73%. These figures tend to confirm the conclusions of the study of undated graves - that there are strong correlations between the choice of grave goods, the provision of coffins and the alignments of graves.

It is clear that this general study has identified a number of different general groupings of furnished graves which show differing characteristics in terms of grave form, alignment and furnishing. There appears to be a distinction between personal articles buried on their own and those buried as part of an array of grave goods. In addition to these general groups, it is possible to identify three further potential groupings of graves for study. Two of these groups show a degree of internal coherence and differ from the expected norm sufficiently to enable further study, whilst the third is identified as potentially intrusive because of the presence of glazed pottery vessels. Thus the groupings studied here are as follows.

i. Graves containing pottery and combinations of other grave goods along with pottery, including those containing glazed vessels. These graves form the norm for the furnished graves within the cemetery. The most common co-occurrences are with coins and glass vessels, although both worn and unworn personal articles are found within these burials. There is a considerable range of different furnishing forms in this group, but these graves all show similar peaks of alignments and proportions of coffin use. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 1, 9, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 68, 73 and 74.

The group of graves containing glazed vessels form a part of this group. An analysis of these graves has suggested that they show no significant deviation from the overall group. The overall numbers of furnishing types of those containing glazed

vessels and those that do not are shown in the graph below. The peaks of popular furnishing types are identical for the two groups. The combination of this, the similarity in alignments (with south-north the most common alignment) and proportion of grave forms (with coffins predominant) and the presence of local pottery in addition to the glazed vessels in many of the graves is sufficient to suggest that although the pottery may have its origins in Hungary, the grave rites do not differ from the normal furnishing types.



ii. Graves containing personal articles and combinations of grave goods along with personal articles, but with no pottery vessels. These have previously been discussed above. It appears that the provision of personal articles as sole grave goods bears a relationship to the alignment of the graves, with the small number of dated graves in this group confirming the results shown by the undated graves. Of all the grave goods buried in graves, personal articles are perhaps the most ambivalent and the most personal. The

burial of a clothed individual can easily result in the inclusion of personal articles in the graves (e.g. hobnails brooches etc.). A number of the items that appear in these graves may have been indicative of social status, notably the crossbow brooches and buckles/belt sets that occur in some of these graves. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 2, 3, 10, 12, 39, 56, 62 and 63.

iii. Graves containing coins only. The graves containing coins as their only grave goods have already been shown to commonly share an unusual alignment amongst the furnished graves and to occur less frequently alongside coffins than would be expected. There is no particular coherence to the positioning of these coins in the grave, and no apparent differences from the use of coins elsewhere in the cemetery. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 7.

iv. Graves containing combinations of equipment, coins and other vessels. This is a small group of graves which have no co-occurrences with either pottery vessels or personal articles, and are therefore really grouped together by default. The main peaks of alignment are south east-north west and south-west-north east, with the latter slightly larger. This is a relatively similar pattern to that shown by the coins (see above), although coffins are more common in these group iv graves - perhaps due to the presence of glass vessels in many of these graves. Six out of the seven graves with coffins also contained glassware. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 6, 42, 52 and 53.

v. Items containing unusual items of equipment and large numbers of other vessels. This group of five graves was identified during the study of changes over time. It was noted that a small number of early graves from the site were both richly and unusually furnished. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 28, 30 and 46. It is thought likely that cremation 533 belongs to this group.

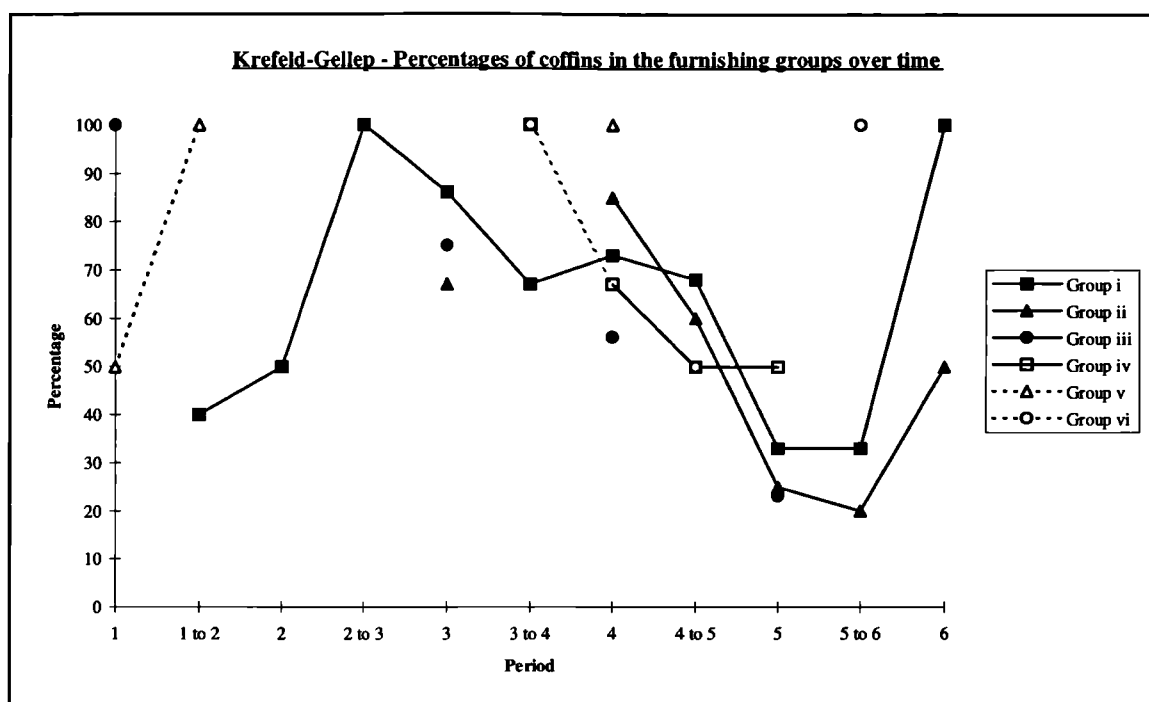
vi. Graves containing weapons amongst their items of equipment. This small group of five graves was also identified during the study of changes over time. They are characterised both by their richness of furnishing and by the presence of weapons

amongst the grave goods. This group consisted of graves of furnishing types 27, 30, 32, 41 and 46.

The large number of dated graves make it possible to look at changes in furnishing over time. The graves dated to periods 1 to 6 are shown in the table below. These show a range of different furnishing types.

Typ e	P	W	U	E	A	C	O	P1	P1/ 2	P2	P2/ 3	P3	P3/ 4	P4	P4/ 5	P5	P5/ 6	P6
1	x								6		2	2	91	32	13	1	1	
2		x										2		4	1			1
3			x									1		5	2		3	1
6							x						1	1	1			
7	x							1				4		27		13		
9	x	x										1	2	5				
10			x			x								6				
12			x	x											1	1	2	
18	x		x					1				1	6	4		1	2	1
22	x			x		x							1	2				
23	x	x				x						2		2		1		
25	x	x		x										1				
26	x		x	x													1	
27	x		x	x			x						1	3			1	
28	x						x		1				46	19	6		2	
29	x	x		x			x					1		1				
30	x		x	x		x	x	1	1			1	3	2				
32	x			x			x						4	1	4			
34	x	x				x	x					1		1				
39			x				x							2	1	1		
41	x	x					x					1	2	1	2			
42				x			x								1			
46	x	x		x		x	x	1						2				1
48	x					x				1		12	1	14		2		
49	x		x			x		1				3		8	1	1		
50	x			x							1		2	2	4			
51	x		x				x					1	7	7	3			
52				x		x								2		1		
53						x	x							3		1		
55	x		x	x		x						2						
56			x	x		x										2		
62		x				x	x							1				
63			x			x	x							3				
68	x					x	x					10	4	6		1		
73	x			x		x	x					1	2	3				1
74	x		x			x	x			1		5	1	1				

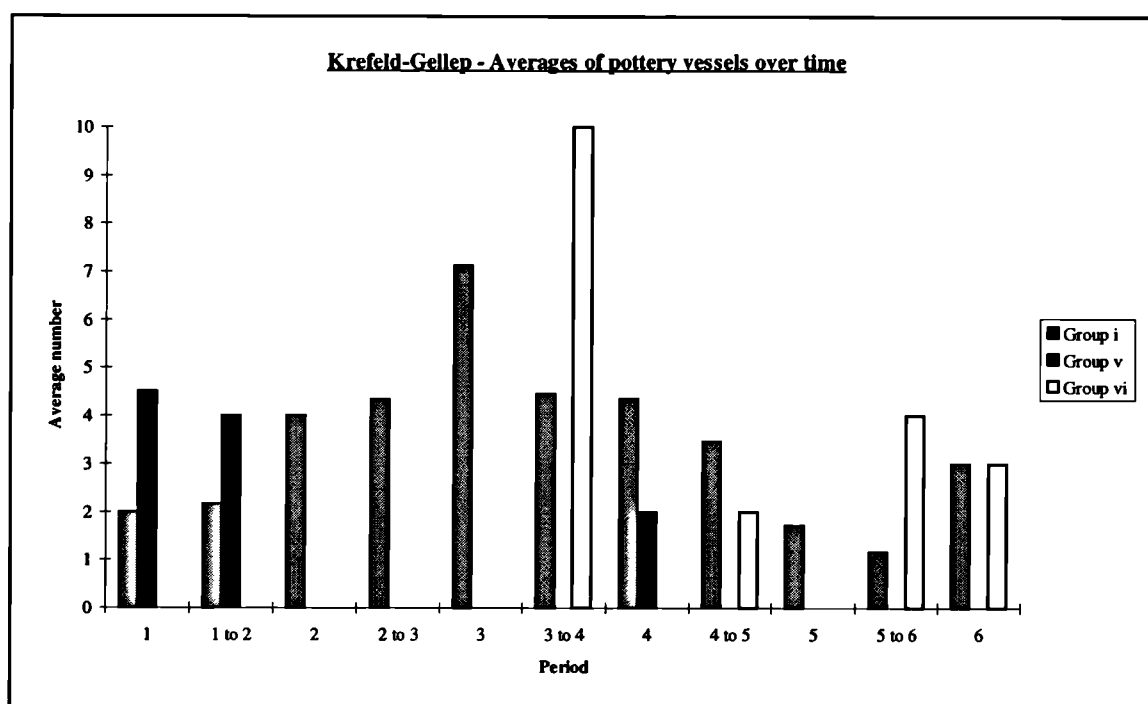
The graphs below show the differences between the different groups in terms of the quantifiable aspects of furnishing. The changes over time in the percentages of each type to contain coffins are shown in the graph below. The more reliable results belong to the larger groups.



Graves of type i, ii and iv all show a roughly similar pattern, with a peak of coffin use during the first half of the fourth century, tailing off towards the second half of the fourth century. The exception to this general rule are the graves of group iii, which appear to show a constant decrease in coffin use throughout the period of study. These graves, containing coins only, have already been identified as containing unusually low proportions of coffins as well as unusual peaks of alignments. The high proportion of coffin use in the unfurnished graves may indicate that there is a shift away from the use of coffins in the furnished graves in the late fourth century on the site in general, especially if a reasonable proportion of these graves belong to a late group of Christian burials.

The picture for the average numbers of pottery vessels per type is shown below. Only three of the furnishing groups contained pottery vessels, with the graves of group i

dominating the picture. There appears to be a peak in the average numbers of coins placed in a grave during period 3, coinciding with the first introduction of glazed vessels in a small proportion of these graves. This is then followed by a gradual decline in the averages during the second half of the fourth century. The numbers of graves of groups v and vi containing pottery are too few to provide a coherent or reliable representation of the levels of pottery furnishing.



The numbers of graves containing both worn and unworn personal articles from each group are shown in the table below. The worn personal articles are shown in bold type.

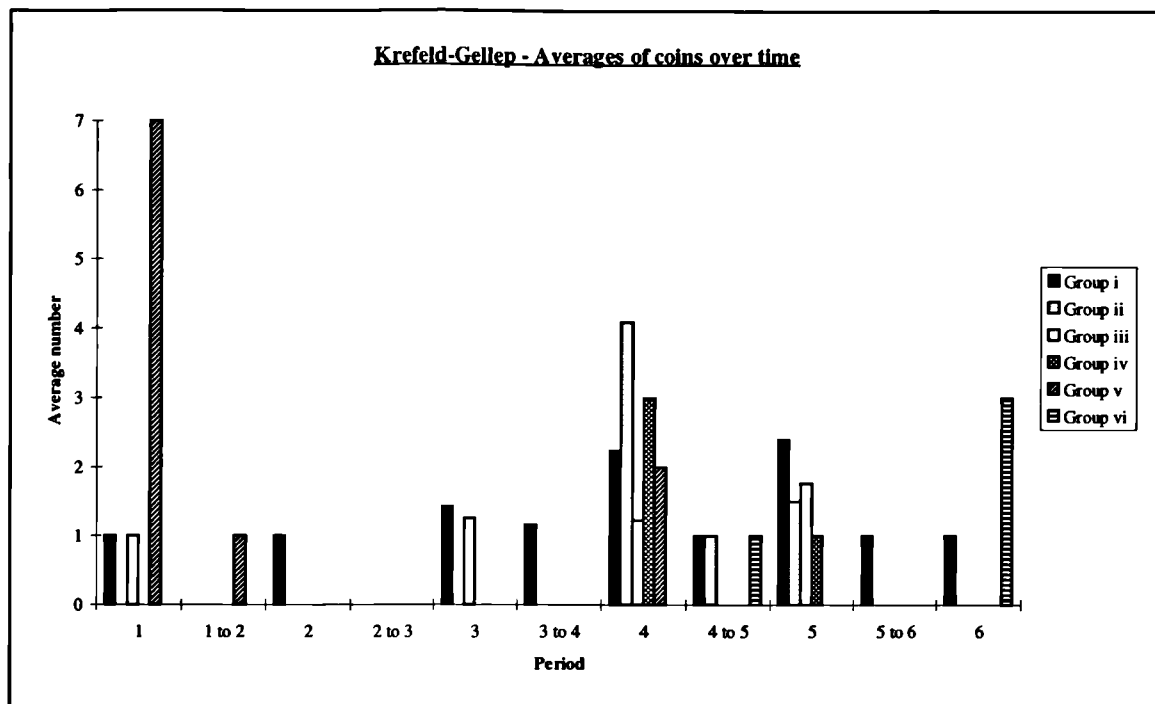
Group	Period	XBB	Buc	Fit	Bra	Bro	Bds	Hpn	Ear	Rng	Hobs	Torc	Pin	Pend
i	1		1	1	1	1	1							
	1 to 2													
	2						1							
	2 to 3													
	3	1, 3	7		6	1	6	1, 1		1, 1	1		1	
	3 to 4		5	1	4		1	1		2	1, 2		1	1
	4	8, 7	15	5	4, 2		5, 3	2		1, 1	1		3	

	4 to 5		1	1	1, 1		1, 1						1	
	5	1, 1	1		1		1			1				
	5 to 6		3	1										
	6		1											
Group	Period	XBB	Buc	Fit	Bra	Bro	Bds	Hpn	Ear	Rng	Hobs	Torc	Pin	Pend
ii	1													
	1 to 2													
	2													
	2 to 3													
	3	1, 1		1	1		2	2			1			
	3 to 4													
	4	9, 5	9	4			1		1	1			1	
	4 to 5		2, 1	2	2									
	5	1	2				2				1			
	5 to 6		4	1		1		1						
	6	1	1	1										
Group	Period	XBB	Buc	Fit	Bra	Bro	Bds	Hpn	Ear	Rng	Hobs	Torc	Pin	Pend
iv	1						1							
	1 to 2													
	2													
	2 to 3													
	3													
	3 to 4													
	4													
	4 to 5													
	5													
	5 to 6													
	6													
Group	Period	XBB	Buc	Fit	Bra	Bro	Bds	Hpn	Ear	Rng	Hobs	Torc	Pin	Pend
v	1	1					1							
	1 to 2				1									
	2													
	2 to 3													
	3													
	3 to 4													
	4												1	
	4 to 5													
	5													
	5 to 6													
	6													
Group	Period	XBB	Buc	Fit	Bra	Bro	Bds	Hpn	Ear	Rng	Hobs	Torc	Pin	Pend
vi	1													
	1 to 2													

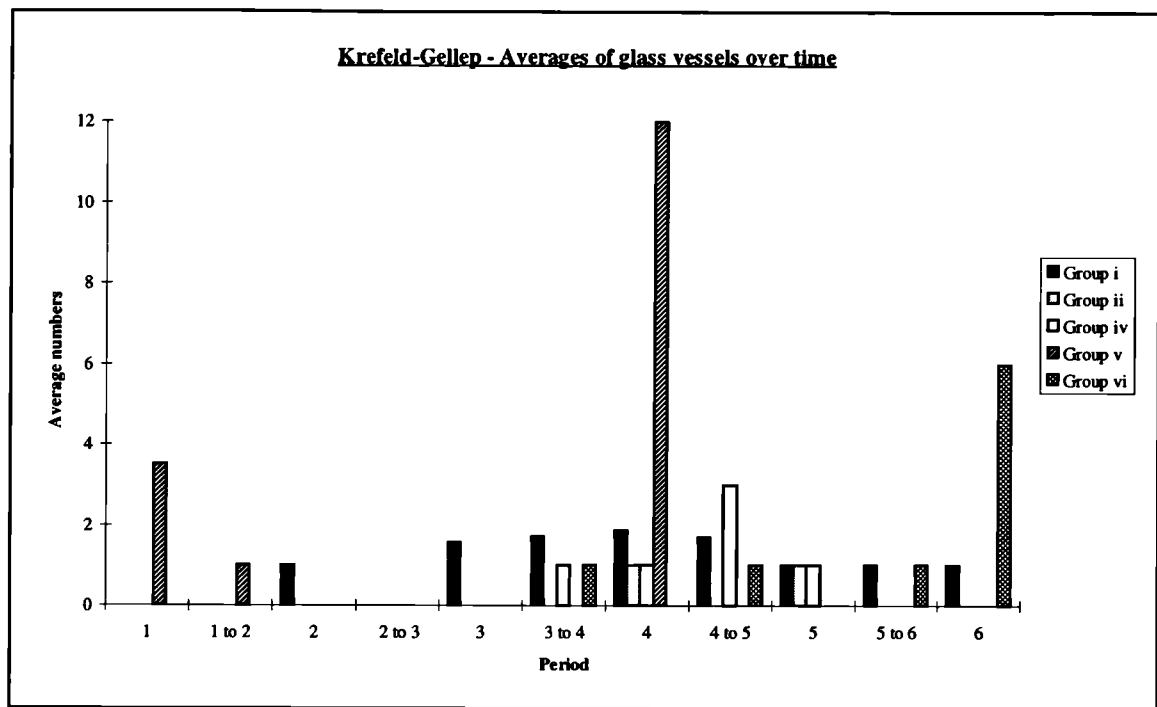
	2													
	2 to 3													
	3													
	3 to 4		1											
	4													
	4 to 5		1											
	5													
	5 to 6		1											
	6		1								1			

There does not seem to be any particular difference in the numbers or forms of these grave goods. Similar patterns of furnishing occur in groups i and ii, with both worn and unworn personal articles common - although a number of the unworn grave goods are items for which the exact position in the grave could not be closely recorded.

The average numbers of coins in these graves are shown in the graph below. With the exception of group iii, the levels of furnishing are not high. There does however appear to be an peak, both in the use of coins as grave goods and in the number of coins buried in periods 4 and 5 (from AD 330 - AD 390), with the main peak in period 4 (bearing in mind that the figures for the joint periods - i.e. period 1 to 2 etc.- are going to be lower in view of the contribution of the coins to the dating). The only exceptions to this trend are the graves of group v, where there is a peak in period 1, and group vi, where there is an increase in period 6, which may both be the result of the small numbers of graves involved.



The pattern of furnishing for the glass vessels in these groups is similar to that of the pottery vessels, although the numbers involved are generally smaller, and the provision of glass vessels with the dead may have a greater reflection on the status of the individual than it is the case with pottery vessels. This is almost certainly the reason for the high proportion of glass vessels in the graves of type v, which also contain bronze vessels. Again there is an increase in the level of furnishing during the later third and early fourth centuries, followed by a decline. Again the group which does not follow this pattern is group vi, in which there appears to be an increase in the provision of glass vessels during this later phase.



Bronze vessels are rare as grave goods, and may well be linked to social status. They are one of the defining characteristics of group v, and as a result these contain the largest proportion of these vessels. The only other bronze vessels belong to graves of group i. In all of these groups, the numbers of graves to contain bronze vessels is small, and it is difficult to draw any strong conclusions from these.

Discussion.

The grouping of these graves has identified a number of differences between graves containing certain furnishing types. The graves of group i appear to form the norm for the furnished graves. However, group ii shows a number of similarities of furnishing to the 'norm' in terms of the levels and form of furnishing, notably in the provision of personal articles. It seems likely that whilst these show different peaks of alignment, both groups i and ii form part of the same rite, with the majority of graves containing personal articles only perhaps more significant for the exclusion of other forms of grave goods than for any internal coherence in their furnishing. The inclusion of rich goods in group v, potentially as status symbols, would seem to suggest that these

represent an elite group of rich burials, and are unlikely to be intrusive. Some of the graves of group i do contain potentially intrusive grave goods, mainly in the form of the glazed vessels. The positions of these do not differ significantly from the norm of the cemetery - indeed the pattern of decline in the average numbers of pottery vessels over time is very similar. Interestingly, the suggested place of origin for these glazed vessels is Hungary, but these graves do not contain worn personal articles, common in much of Pannonia. These graves do contain a slightly higher proportion of personal articles, which are almost exclusively unworn, but there is little in the types or positioning of these to indicate a significant difference from the norm. This is also true of the coins and glassware in these graves.

The graves of group iii, those containing coins only show few differences in the provisions of coins to the graves of the other groups. However, it has already been established that these graves commonly share an unusual alignment and are less likely to contain coffins than other furnishing groups. It seems likely that the placement of coins may not be linked to status, but could be linked to belief - payment for a ferryman etc. This will be discussed further below.

Group vi may well represent an intrusive rite. The graves share a slightly unusual alignment, but the numbers involved are small (hence the variety in the percentages for the coffins). The grave goods would seem to suggest a military link - particularly the presence of belt buckles and axes. These late belt forms may hint at least at a passing attachment to Roman officialdom. It may be that these represent burials of members of a late fourth century garrison. This may well also be the reason for the numbers of crossbow brooches in the fourth century.

The following picture seems to emerge from the study of the dated graves. Group i seems fairly secure as the norm for the dated graves. There are a number of patterns apparent in these graves. There is a gradual shift in alignment towards a west-east alignment. There also appears to be a significant increase both in the number of dated graves and their levels of furnishing during the first half of the fourth century AD. This is reflected in the high levels of pottery, personal articles, coins and glass vessels at

this time. This change could be due to a number of factors. Van Lith and Randsbourg (1985) have suggested that social stress plays a large part in the choice of grave goods where glass vessels are concerned. This could equally well apply to other grave goods, and could go some way to explaining the increase in the numbers of graves to contain grave goods. However, the picture is more complicated than that. The Rhine border was beset with problems at the end of the third century and beginning of the fourth century, and major campaigns were needed to restore order. It is possible that at this time, the garrison at Krefeld-Gellep could have been reinforced or replaced. There is plenty of evidence to support this. Period 3 (AD 300-330) is the first where crossbow brooches are buried as grave goods. It is also the period where glazed vessels and worn personal articles appear on the site. Although there is insufficient coherence in either of these groups to suggest that they represent an intrusive group, but both contain elements of burial rite which have Hungarian parallels. It is possible that elements of these groups represent elements of the garrison which may have spent time in Hungary. The introduction of new groups to the area could also be responsible for a degree of social stress.

Group ii appears associated with group i, but possibly representing a group of burials where the inclusion of personal articles was not viewed as furnishing the grave. Group v graves seem to represent an early group of wealthy burials, which may have Germanic links (coins in grave 533 etc.). Group vi is too small to be certain of its significance, but it does provide evidence of Germanic-influenced military burials within a late Roman context.

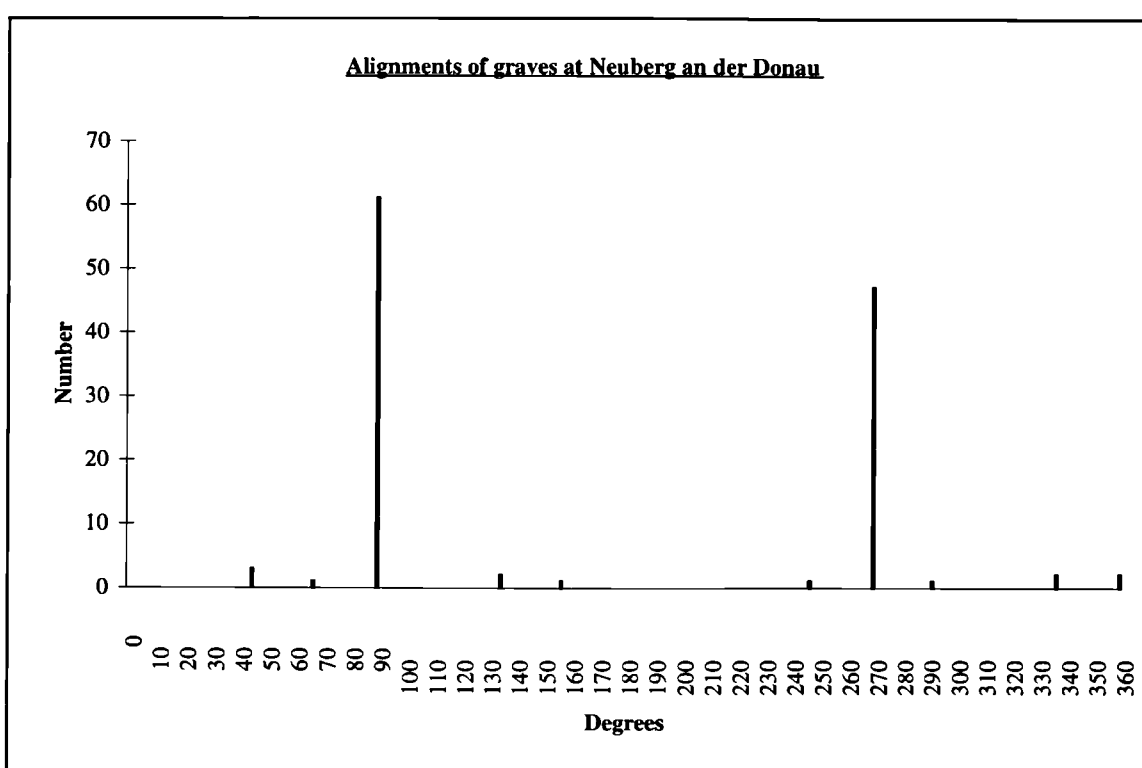
Neuberg an der Donau.

Excavations in Neuberg uncovered some 130 inhumations of a late Roman date. Keller (1979) suggested that the cemetery could be split into three chronological zones according to alignment, the anthropological study and the levels and types of furnishing, with zone 1 dating to AD330-360, zone 2 to AD360-400 and zone 3 to the late fourth

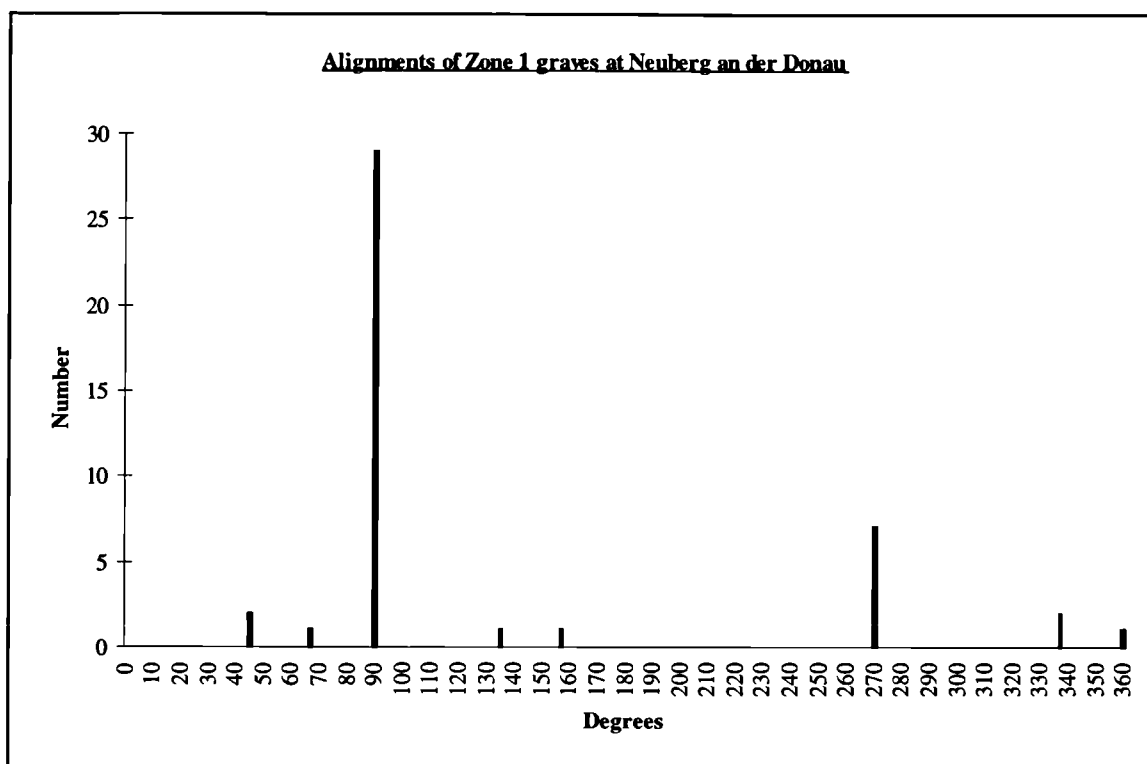
century - AD 390-400 (Keller, 1979, 50). A number of graves from zones 1 and 2 contain both 'provincial Roman' and 'Germanic' elements. In addition to this, a number of graves in zone 3 were identified as containing grave goods which originated in eastern Germany (possibly Gothic), and were interpreted as intrusive.

Alignment.

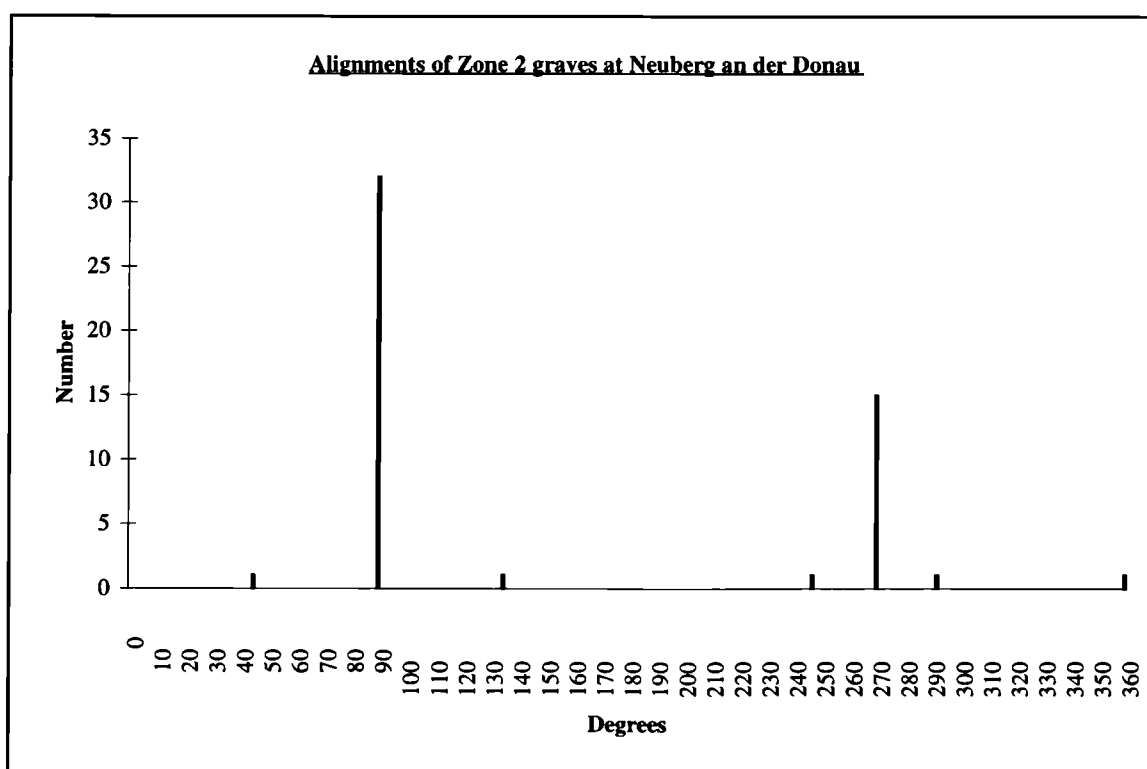
The alignments from all of the graves on the site are shown below. The main peaks are of graves aligned east-west and west-east.



The alignments of the graves in zone 1 are dominated by graves aligned east-west, with a number of the more unusual alignments also in this group.



The picture for zone 2 is fairly similar to that of zone 1, with a peak of east-west graves, fewer west-east graves and a smaller number of unusual alignments.



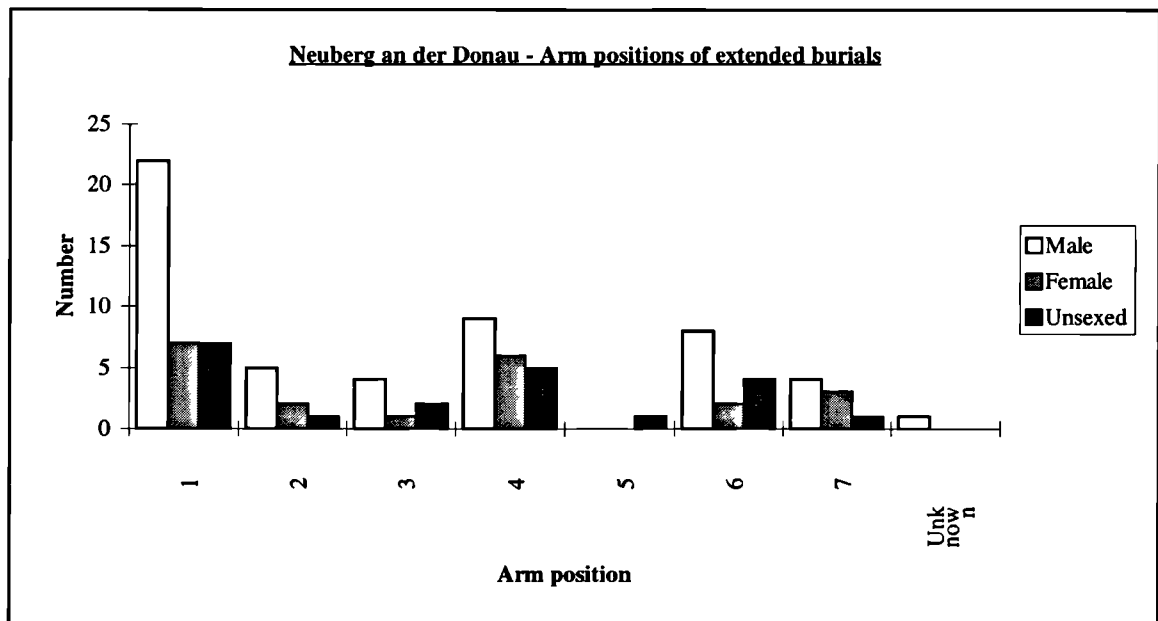
All twenty five of the graves in zone 3 are aligned west-east. It seems as though there is little difference between zones 1 and 2, with zone 3 the unusual group.

Grave form.

Only 21 of the graves contained wooden coffins. One grave was stone-lined, and the remainder of the graves, where recorded, are earth-dug graves. The numbers of coffins in zones 1, 2 and 3 are 4, 8 and 9 respectively. The coffins in zones 1 and 2 contained adult burials only, whilst those in zone 3 contained five adults and three children.

Body position.

All but four of the graves are extended burials. The four exceptions are flexed burials, two of which are recorded as having arm position 1. All four are adults, with two male and two unsexed. The arm positions of the extended burials are shown below. Arm positions 1, 4 and 6 dominate. The proportions of arm positions in male and female burials do not differ significantly from the overall proportions of sexed graves.



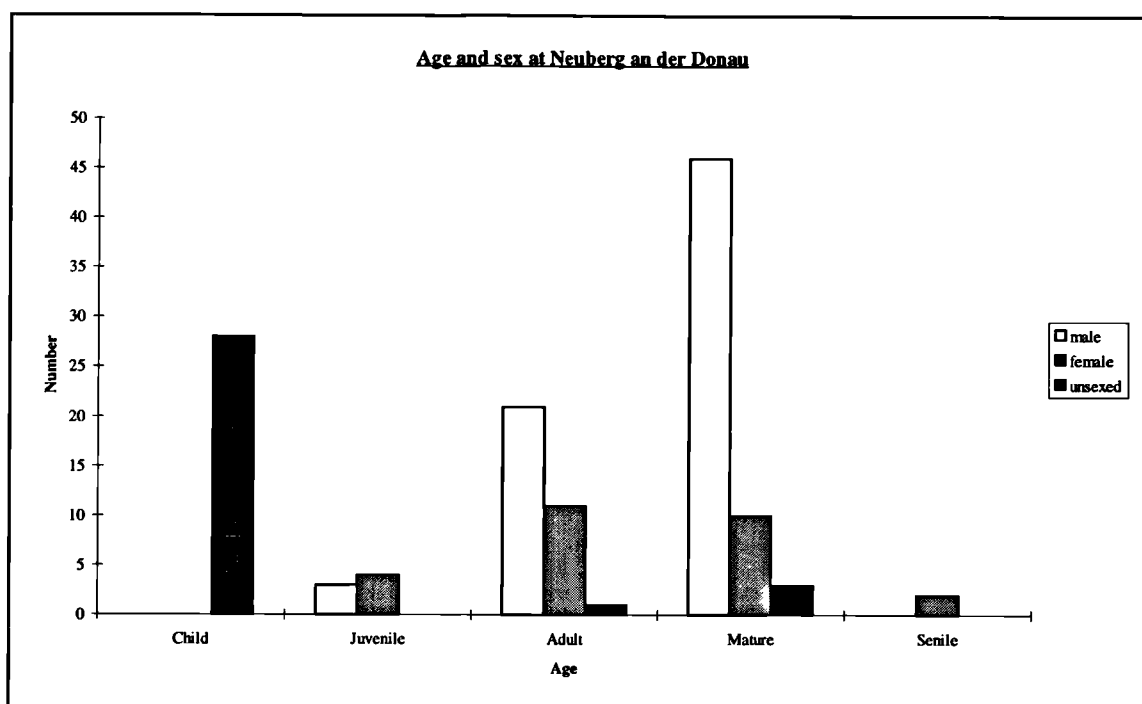
Coffins and other containers for the body.

The correlations between the age of the dead, furnishing and the use of containers are shown below. Adults are more likely than children to be buried with grave goods, with 37% of all adult graves furnished compared to 17% of the children. The figures for coffin use show similar proportions, with 20% of adults and 10% of children buried in coffins. However, whilst there is a clear correlation between the provision of grave goods and burial within a coffin for adults (44% of the adult burials in coffins are furnished), none of the three burials of children within coffins is furnished. The one stone-lined grave is unfurnished.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	45	25	70	22	5	27	97
Coffined	10	8	18	3	0	3	21
Stone lined	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	56	33	89	25	5	30	119

Anthropology.

The details of age and sex at Neuberg are shown below. The burial population is clearly not a normal one, with nearly three times as many male burials as female burials. The peaks of burials for male and females differ, with the peak of the former in the 'mature' category and the latter in the 'adult' category. The predominance of male burials could be indicative of a military presence in the cemetery. The three zones all contain both male and female burials, with the latter apparently increasing slightly over time (assuming a zone 1 - zone 3 chronology), although the numbers in each group are relatively small.



Unfurnished graves.

91 of the inhumations at Neuberg were unfurnished. There appears to be a gradual decrease in the levels of furnished graves from zones 1 to 3, with the levels of unfurnished graves rising from 59% in zone 1, to 70% in zone 2 and 84% in zone 3. There are no significant differences between the general alignments of the unfurnished graves and those of the site as a whole, although a number of the more 'unusual' alignments in each group belong to unfurnished graves. There does however appear to be an increase in the use of coffins in unfurnished graves over time, with none of the unfurnished graves in zone 1 buried in coffins, with this figure rising to 7 (13%) in zone 2 and 6 (29%) in zone 3. It had already been established that female burials become slightly more common over time, and there is little change in this pattern with regards to the unfurnished graves.

Furnished graves.

The small number of furnished graves do not differ from the patterns of alignment, grave form and anthropology established above, although the four burials in

zone 3 with grave goods are likely to all be female (3 are positively sexed whilst the third contains worn bracelets)

The furnishing groups of the graves from Neuberg are shown in the table below. A number of the graves could be closely dated, and these serve to confirm the identification of the three chronological zones. Therefore the same groupings used by Keller have been used in the study of the furnishing.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3
1	x							1		
2		x						4	4	2
3			x					6	5	
4				x				1	4	1
7						x		1	1	
9	x	x						2		
10			x			x			1	
12			x	x				1		1
13		x		x					1	
19	x				x			1		
41	x	x					x	1		
70	x	x	x		x		x	1		

The graves from zone 1 contain all of the pottery vessels from the site, a number of which are clearly 'un-Roman' in form. These belong to a Germanic tradition centred around the Elbe, and co-occur in a number of graves with more common late Roman grave goods such as crossbow brooches. A number of interesting patterns emerge in the furnishing of these graves. Pottery and personal articles dominate the grave goods, with the latter both worn and unworn. The personal articles are generally worn with the exception of the belt buckles, which are always unworn, and one of the crossbow brooches. Two of the graves contain dog remains, whilst a small number contain items of equipment, coins and glass or stone beakers. These graves appear in terms of their furnishing and the position of grave goods within the grave, to belong to the late Roman tradition of grave furnishing,, but a number of the grave goods are clearly intrusive.

The rite develops into zone 2, with the rite becoming more defined. Pottery no longer plays a part in grave furnishing, with personal articles the dominant grave goods. Items of equipment and coins are more common in these graves. As with the graves in zone 1, the majority of personal articles are worn with the main exception to this the buckles and belt fittings of belt sets. Amongst the graves containing items of equipment are two containing weapons - one containing a spear and the second containing two arrowheads. The latter may not be grave goods, but may have been responsible for the death of the individual buried. The individual in grave 62 also appears to have died from a sword blow to the skull. These may indicate that the area was not trouble free in the second half of the fourth century.

Only four graves from zone 3 were furnished. These all contained either personal articles, a bone comb or a combination of the two. A number of these grave goods are identified as Gothic in origin by the author. Three of these burials are likely to be female.

An anthropological study of variation within the skeletal population has indicated sufficient variation to support the evidence for intrusive grave goods, although the numbers involved from each sample group are relatively small.

From this study, there appears to be a greater degree of continuity between zones 1 and 2 than 2 and 3. The inclusion of the 'Germanic' style grave goods in zones 1 and 2 may indicate, together with the relatively high proportions of male to female burials, the presence of a Germanic garrison in the vicinity. There are a number of grave goods suggesting an association with the late Roman state - notably the crossbow brooches and belt buckles, which can be paralleled closely in a number of the other sites studied here. At least two of the graves in zone 2 are burials of individuals who appear to have met with a violent death. The intrusive grave goods in zone 3 with Gothic origins may indicate intrusive burials, although the number of graves involved is small, and a number of graves in zone 3 show reasonable continuity of rite from zones 1 and 2.

Neuberg.

This single grave from Neuberg was aligned east-north-east to west-south-west, with the head at the eastern end of the grave. The burial was that of an adult female. The grave form and body position are not well recorded. The only pottery vessel, a jar, was placed by the feet. The grave contains a number of personal articles - a single bracelet, worn on the right arm, and four finger rings (two on either hand). The only coin in the grave was placed on the torso. The grave also contained a stone beaker, similar to those found at a number of different sites in the area. This was placed between the legs. The grave belongs to furnishing type 34.

Burghof.

The single grave at Burghof (Keller, 1971) is poorly recorded. It is aligned east-north-east to west-south-west, but the anthropology of the deceased, the grave form and the body position are not well recorded. The only grave good in the grave is a single beaker, the position of which is unrecorded.

Burgheim.

There are twenty seven graves from the site at Burgheim. The alignment of eleven of these are recorded - seven are aligned east-west and four are aligned south-north. The grave forms of all the graves are not recorded, but six of the burials are within coffins. The anthropology of the dead is unrecorded, although it is mentioned that one of the dead is an adult male and another is a child. The body position of the dead is unrecorded.

Nine of the twelve graves that were reasonably well recorded contained grave goods. None of the graves contain any pottery - the most common grave goods are personal articles and items of equipment. The only certainly unworn personal articles are the buckle and belt fittings in one grave. The items of equipment in these graves are a

pair of tweezers, a box and a mirror. Three graves contain chicken remains. Two of these were placed near the feet of the deceased. Only one grave contained coins. These date the grave to period 4. The only vessel from the cemetery is the stone beaker from grave 5.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
2		x						3
4				x				1
5					x			1
6							x	1
13		x		x				1
17			x		x			1
40		x			x	x		1

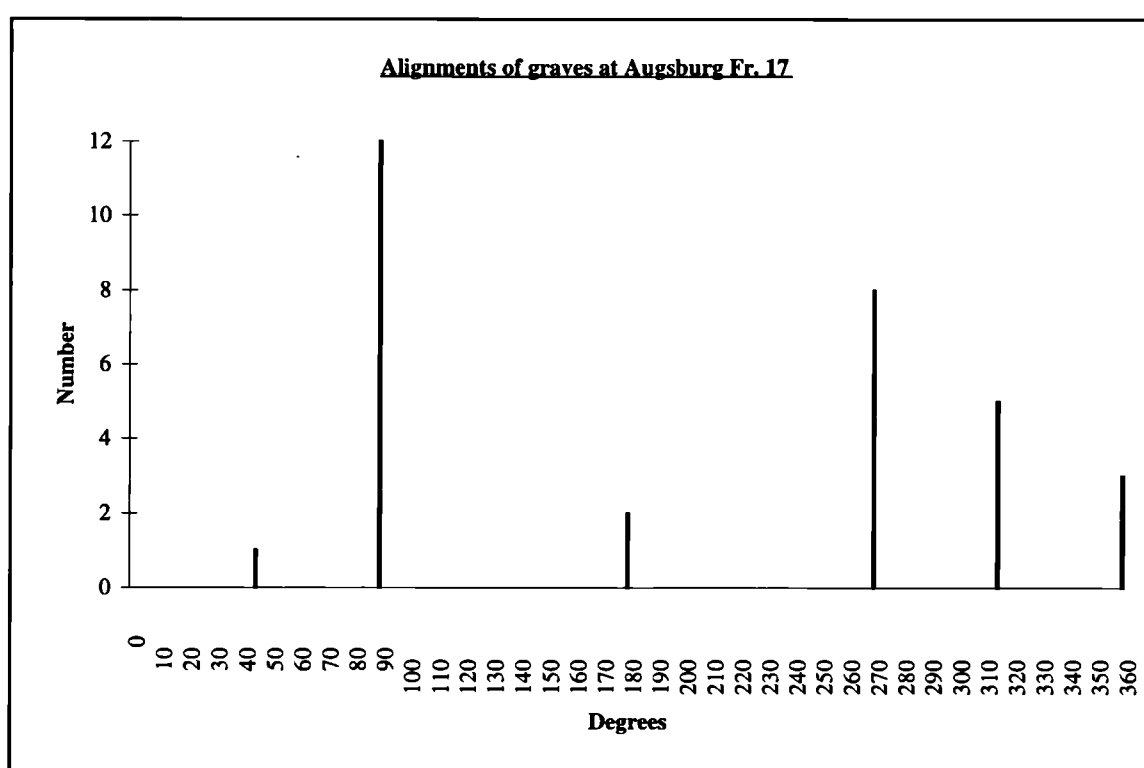
Augsburg Fr. 15.

The alignments of the ten graves from Frölichstrasse 15 are not recorded. However, five of them are recorded as containing coffins. The anthropology and body positions are unrecorded, with the exception of two burials, one of which is recorded as being male, and another as female. All of the graves are furnished. Pottery occurs in five graves, whilst personal articles occur in only one (four bracelets worn on the left arm). The items of equipment from the site consist of a spear in grave 8 (the male grave) and a mirror in grave 9 (the female grave). Glass vessels were common grave goods - there are two glass beakers and seven glass flasks, in seven out of the ten graves. Both of the graves containing items of equipment were buried in coffins. Indeed, all of the graves with coffins contain glass vessels. It appears that there may be a link between wealth and the provision of coffins.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							2
6							x	4
28	x						x	2
29	x	x		x			x	1
42				x			x	1

Augsburg, Fr. 17.

Forty four graves were excavated at Frölichstrasse 17, Augsburg. Very little detail is recorded, beyond the positions of some of the grave goods and the alignment of the majority of the graves. The alignments of thirty one of these graves is recorded. These are shown below. The largest peak of graves are those aligned east-west and west-east.



The arm positions of four graves are recorded - one each of arm positions 1 & 2, and two of arm position 4.

Thirty two of the graves contain no grave goods. These graves form the majority of the burials and therefore, unsurprisingly, differ little from the general alignments for the site.

Twelve of the graves are furnished. Five graves contain pottery vessels only, with pottery also present in three other graves. There are few personal articles from the

site - a single bracelet, five hairpins and a set of hobnails. The hairpins and hobnails are worn, but the bracelet was placed by the head. A knife and a mirror are the only items of equipment buried with the dead. The only coin from the site is found in grave 42. It was placed in the mouth of the deceased, and dates the grave to period 2. There are three glass vessels from these burials.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							5
2		x						1
3			x					1
6							x	1
28	x						x	1
50	x			x				2
62		x				x	x	1

Goggingen.

Of the twenty eight graves excavated at Goggingen, the majority (17) are aligned roughly east-west. The rest are aligned west-east (6), south-north (3), and north-south (1). Nine of the graves contained coffins, whilst the remainder were simple earth graves. The table below shows the recorded anthropology.

	child	young	adult
Male	0	0	5
Female	0	2	6
Unsexed	4	2	5

However, none of the body positions is recorded. Over half of the graves contained grave goods, with twelve of the twenty eight graves unfurnished. These include four of the nine coffins. It appears that the provision of coffins does not influence the burial of grave goods with the dead. The alignments of these graves fit in well with the norm for the site.

None of the furnished graves contained any pottery. The furnishing types of these graves are recorded below. Many of the graves contain single forms of grave goods only, often personal articles. Two graves contained crossbow brooches, but the position of only one of these is recorded - it is worn. One of the two buckles is unworn, whilst the second is poorly recorded. Where the positions of bracelets are recorded, they are generally worn, with the majority worn on the right arm. Only one grave contains beads, whilst two of the three finger rings are worn, both on the right hand. The only items of equipment from the site are a knife (in the same grave as the unworn buckle) and a spindle whorl. Only one grave contains a coin, whilst three contain other vessels (one glass flask and two stone beakers).

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
2		x						6
3			x					4
7							x	1
12			x	x				1
13		x		x				1
39			x				x	2
78					x		x	1

The three dated graves are included above. These include two graves of type 3 (dated to periods two and 2/3 respectively) and one of type 7 (of period 2).

Seestall.

The single grave from Seestall contained a crossbow brooch and a stone beaker. The position of the body, the form of the grave, the anthropology of the deceased and the position of the grave goods are not recorded. The grave dates to period 4.

Gerulate.

Excavations between 1964 and 1969 revealed 167 inhumation and cremation burials, dating from the first to fourth centuries AD. The cemetery appears to include a number of graves belonging to members of the garrison of the fort at Gerulate.

The cremations.

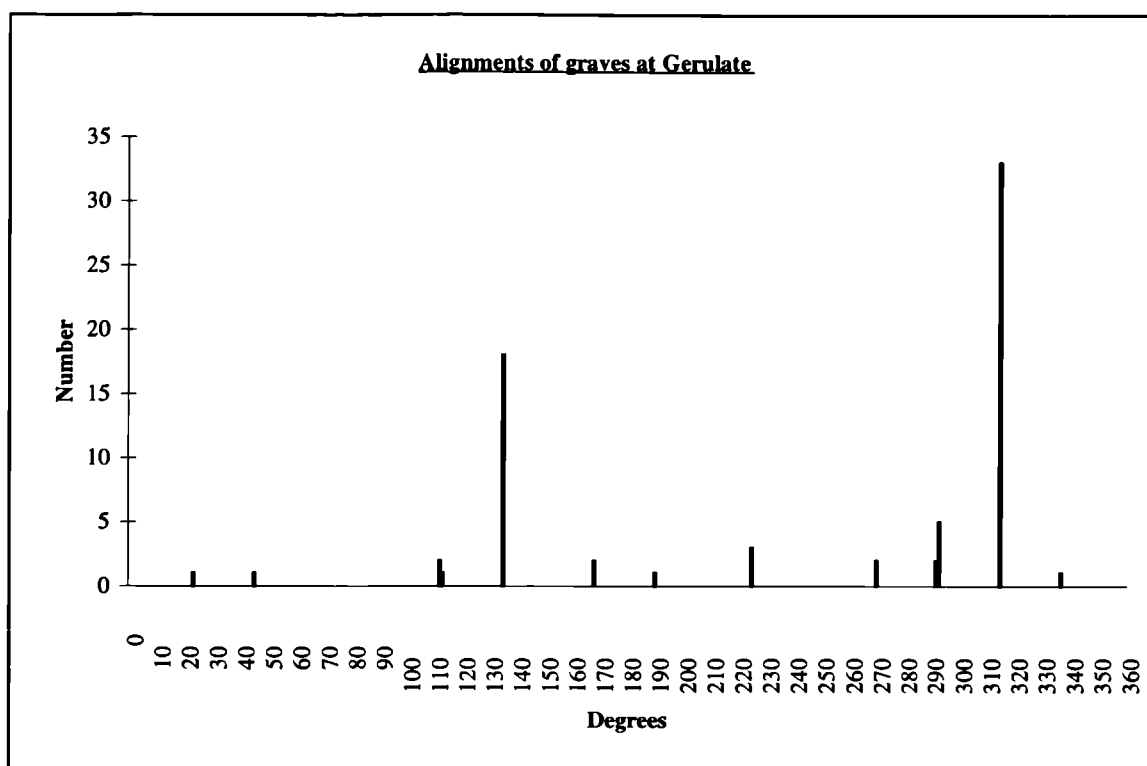
The majority of the graves are cremations, but these appear to date to the first to early third centuries AD, with no evidence for any of the cremations dating to the period of study.

The inhumations.

The 79 inhumations on the site date to the late Roman period.

Alignment.

The alignments of the inhumations are shown below. There are two major peaks of graves - with their heads to the south-east and north-west respectively. These graves are all dug on a similar axis, with only a small number of graves not fitting this pattern.



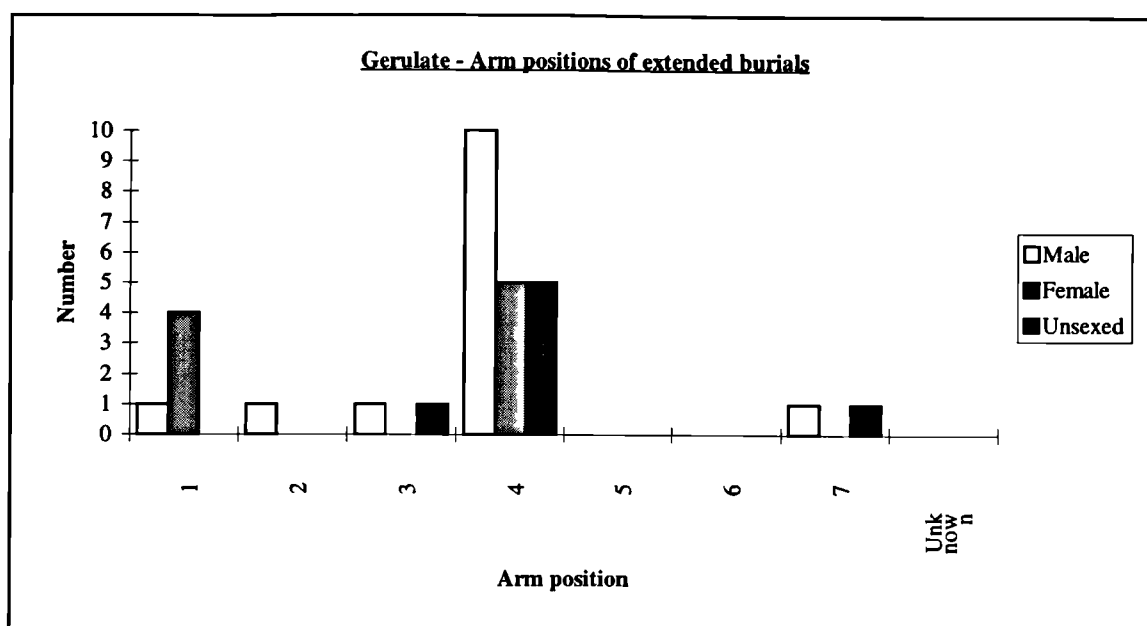
Grave form.

Simple earth dug graves dominate the inhumations, with only nine graves having some container for the body. These include five tile-built graves and four tombs. These few graves appear to have functioned as family tombs, with some containing secondary burials, with the bones of the earlier burial or burials placed in a corner of the grave. This suggests that the positions of the graves were marked or recorded in some fashion, and that these graves remained in use over long periods of time. There is no evidence for the use of wooden coffins in any of these burials.

Body position.

Extended burial is the norm on the cemetery, although three of the burials were flexed and a fourth prone. Only one of these has an unusual alignment, and none contained unusual grave forms. The body positions of many of the graves are well recorded, but few of the burials are closely sexed. The graph below shows the relationships between the aged and sexed individuals and the arm positions of the extended burials. The most common are arm positions 1 and 4, with male burials

containing slightly more burials with arm position 4. However, this is likely to reflect the overall anthropological picture for the cemetery.



Coffins and other containers for the body.

The numbers of aged and sexed individuals are small, and therefore the analysis of the different grave forms focuses only on the levels of furnishing. The table below shows the numbers of furnished and unfurnished forms. There are similar proportions of furnished and unfurnished grave forms in all of the different grave forms - allowing for a certain amount of distortion where small numbers are involved.

	Unfurnished	Furnished	Total
Earth dug graves	18	52	70
Tile graves	2	3	5
Tombs	2	2	4
Total	22	57	79

Anthropology.

There was only a limited study of the anthropology of the cemetery, with only forty individuals aged or sexed. Most of these (24 of the graves) were burials of adult males, with a further twelve adult females. The remaining four graves are unsexed

burials of children. This would seem to indicate a higher proportion of male burials in the cemetery, although there are a large number of burials with no recorded anthropology.

Undated graves.

The majority of the inhumations could not be closely dated. These include the 22 unfurnished graves and 34 of the furnished graves.

Unfurnished graves.

The unfurnished graves form a minority of the excavated graves. It has already been established above that there is no apparent bias in the furnishing of the different grave forms, and that too few individuals are aged and sexed to allow a coherent picture of the relationship between the anthropology of the dead and the form and furnishing level of the grave.

Furnished graves.

Many of the furnished graves from the site could not be dated closely. The furnishing of these graves is dominated by the provision of pottery. Only a few graves do not contain pottery, whilst personal articles are often worn. Jugs and dishes dominate the pottery grave goods, with slightly more placed by the feet than the head. In the graves containing personal articles, the female burials usually contain worn bracelets, necklaces and earrings, although rarely do they all occur as sets of personal articles. One of these graves contains five worn bracelets, of which four were worn on the left arm. The burial is that of an adult female. The male graves containing personal articles are dominated by unworn buckles and hobnails. The hobnails are usually placed near the feet or legs, but are not actually worn. A smaller number of graves contain items of equipment, coins and glass vessels. Knives make up the majority of items of equipment,

whilst glass beakers dominate the glassware. The furnishing types of these graves are shown in the table below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							6
2		x						2
3			x					3
4				x				4
9	x	x						2
18	x		x					5
22	x			x		x		1
23	x	x				x		1
26	x		x	x				1
27	x		x	x			x	1
29	x	x		x			x	3
41	x	x					x	2
48	x					x		1
50	x			x				1
57		x					x	1

Dated graves.

The furnishing types of the 24 dated graves are shown in the table below. The following graves could be dated:

Period 1/2. Grave 35.

Period 3. Graves 3, 9, 10, 17, 25, 29, 31, 32, 70 and 84.

Period 4. Graves 2, 7, 14, 15, 30, 41, 103, 144 and 167.

Period 4/5. Grave 36.

Period 5. Graves 11 and 12.

These graves contain a few differences from the undated graves. These contain crossbow brooches, more coins and glass vessels. This is likely to be a reflection of the methods by which the graves were dated. Pottery and personal articles are still common, with all but one of the crossbow brooches worn (these occur in male graves, where the individuals are sexed). Although there are some differences from the undated graves, it seems likely that all of these graves belong to the same rite. There is also little evidence for significant change in this rite over time.

Typ e	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 1/2	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5
3			x					1				
23	x	x				x			2	2		
29	x	x		x			x			1		
30	x		x	x		x	x			1		
34	x	x				x	x		1			
46	x	x		x		x	x		2	1		
48	x					x						1
49	x		x			x			2			
51	x		x				x			1	1	
55	x		x	x		x			2			
58		x		x			x			1		
62		x				x	x					1
75	x	x		x		x			1	1		

The burials at Gerulate appear to date from the later third century AD through to the end of the fourth century. The burial rite is dominated by the burial of pottery vessels and personal articles, with equipment, coins and glass vessels buried in smaller quantities. The personal articles are generally worn, with the exceptions of the buckles and hobnails in the male graves. The presence of crossbow brooches in some graves, along with the unworn buckles and hobnails, which sometimes co-occur with knives, suggest that some of the burials are of members of the garrison of the local fort. The female burials also contain worn personal articles, although not in large numbers of either forms or items. There are no unusual groupings of graves in the cemetery which could indicate intrusive burials.

Tokod

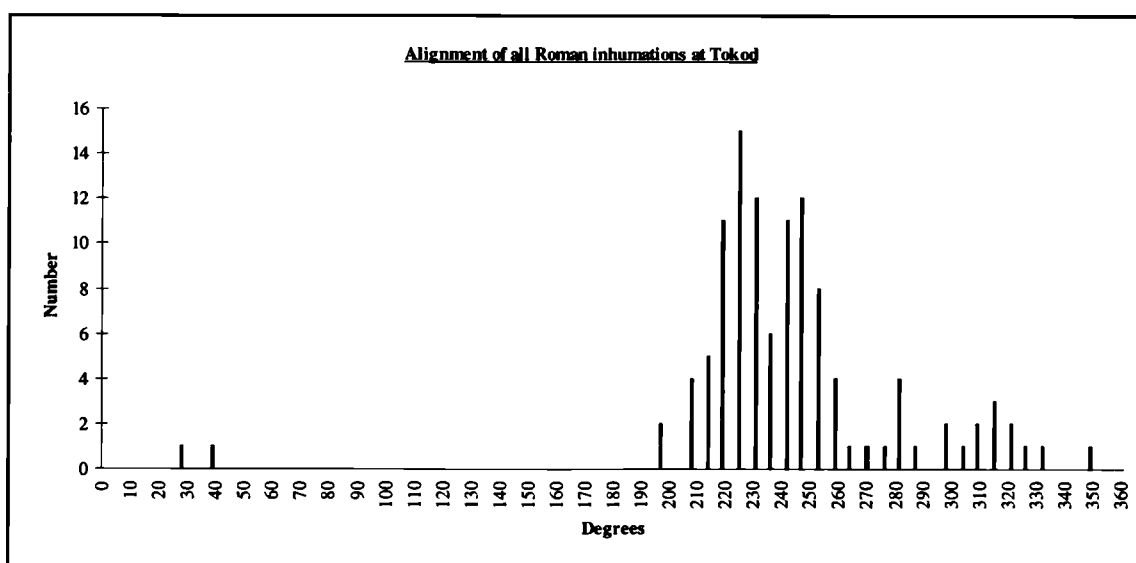
One hundred and twenty graves were excavated in 1968 and 1969. The cemetery lies some 350 metres to the north-west of the late Roman fort. The whole cemetery was not excavated, but presumably represents the burial of the occupants of the fort. The 120 graves contain some 145 individuals of all ages and sexes.

The inhumations.

There are 120 definite inhumations excavated on the site. All of these seem to belong to the late Roman period, and may continue into the first half of the fifth century.

Alignment.

The alignments of the graves on the site are shown below. Clearly the majority of graves are aligned in an arc between 180° and 270°. They seem to be clustered around a south western-north eastern alignment. Only two graves are aligned in an easterly rather than a westerly direction. Although few graves could be closely dated, there seems to be very little change over time in the alignments of those graves which could be dated.



Grave form.

The majority of the graves at Tokod are simple earth graves, occasionally with a step or a niche. There are however a number of other grave forms. Seventeen of these graves are tile graves. Of these, it is clear that there is a good deal of re-use of the graves that are constructed with a large number of tiles. These may well be family graves as they contain adults of both sexes and children. Their re-use suggests that these graves were marked in some way - in most cases, the second deposition leads to the deposition

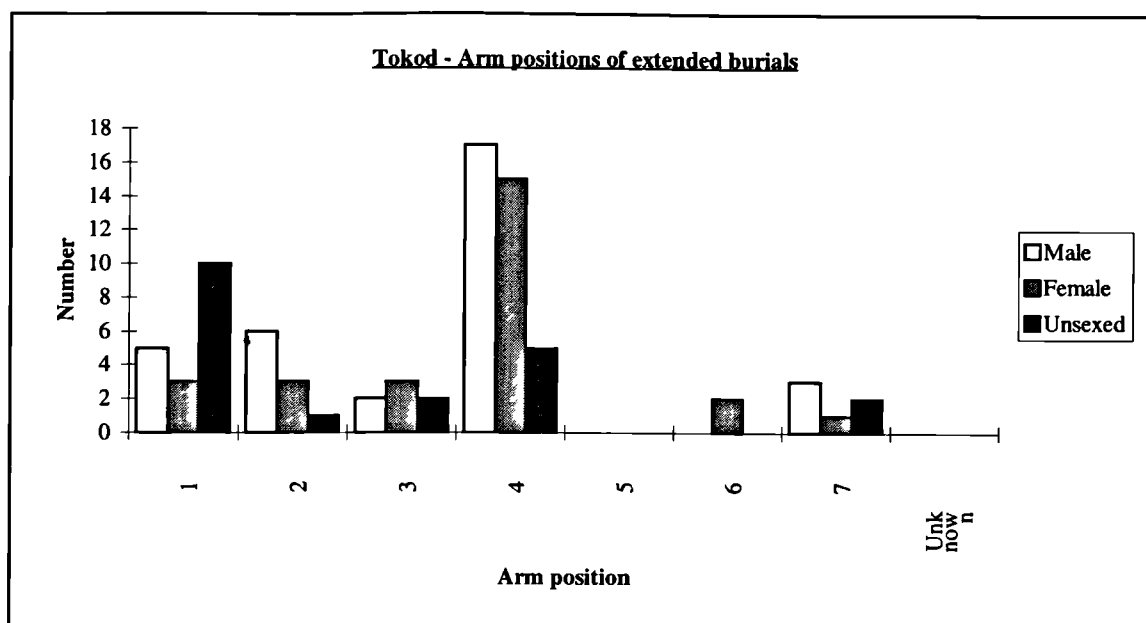
of the bones of the original occupant in a corner of the grave. This suggests that the original occupant had been in the grave long enough for the flesh to rot. This, combined with the re-use of these graves as much as two or three times, suggests that they remained marked and in use for a long period of time.

There were also 11 stone- and tile-built tombs on the site. As with the tile graves, a number of the tombs contain more than one inhumation, and may well have been family tombs. However, unlike the tile graves, they contain no children aged between 0 and 10. It may be that these graves were only used for adults and elder children (although there is only one individual aged between 10 and 20 - in grave 58). The 28 tile graves and tombs contain the remains of 42 individuals (23 in 17 tile graves and 19 in 11 tombs). If we compare the ages and sexes of the individuals concerned, it is clear that there is a difference in the use of the two types of grave. The tile graves contain a large number of unsexed individuals aged between 0 and 20 years of age, whilst those in the tombs are dominated by men and women of over 30 years of age.

There is no positive evidence for coffins, either in the form of coffin nails or wood stains. It may be that the coffins were made of wood only, and that they do not survive as stains in the soil. However, the size of the cuts of many graves suggests that coffins were not commonly used, if at all.

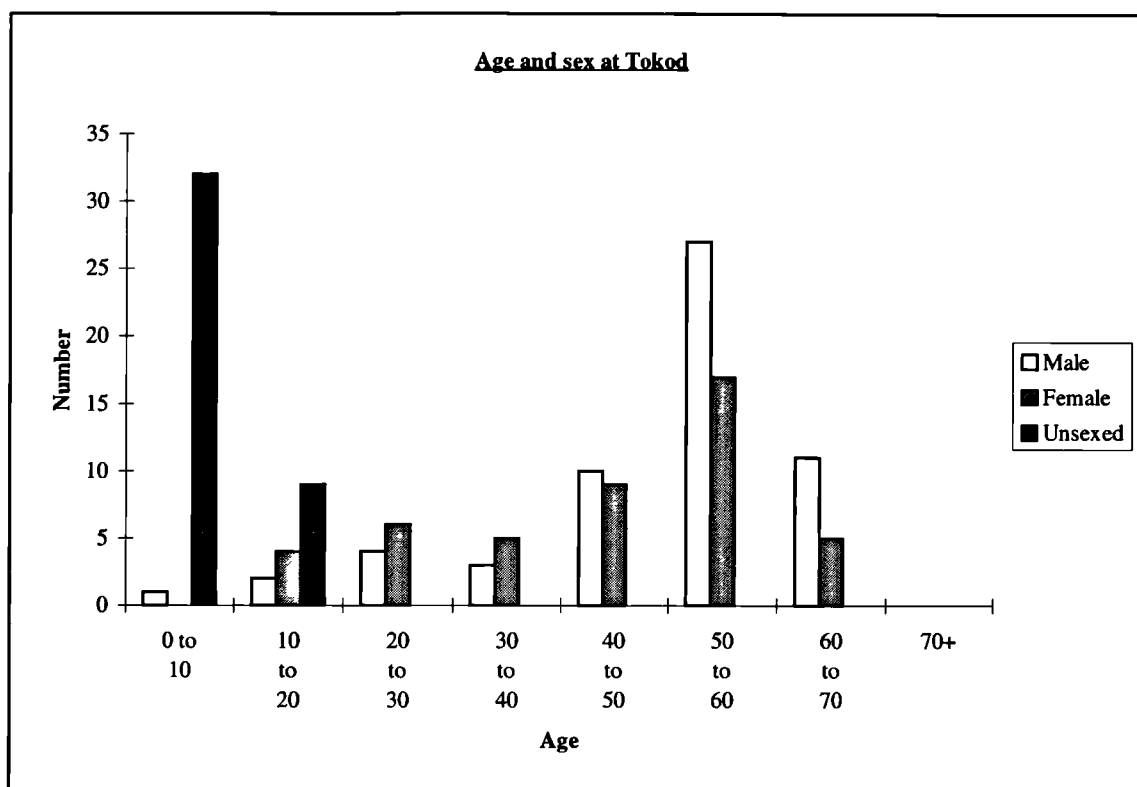
Body position.

Where the body is still articulated, burial seems to have been dominated by the extended position, with the arms in a number of different positions. This can be seen below. Clearly the most common of these is position 4, where the arms are bent and rest on the pubis or waist. There seems little difference in the positioning of the hands between the sexes.



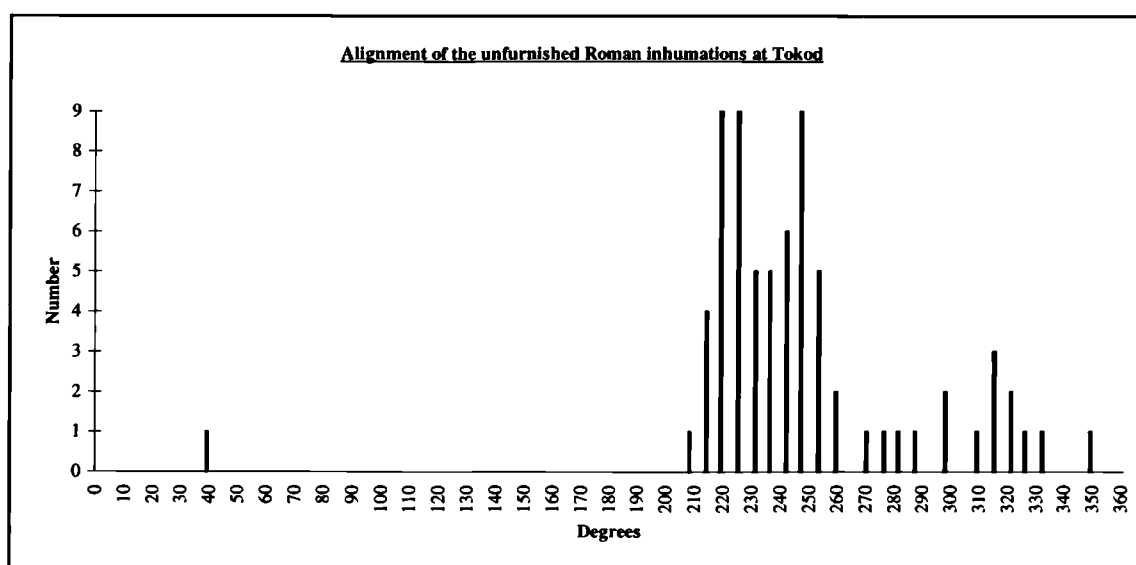
Anthropology.

The age and sex of the dead at Tokod was anthropologically determined. Of the 145 individuals examined, 58 were male, 46 were female and 41 could not be sexed closely. The anthropology of the burial population can be seen below. Clearly the two peaks of death are between the ages of 0 and 10 and between 50 and 60. The latter figure is perhaps a little surprising, as it suggests that if an individual survived into adulthood, they were likely to live for a fairly long time. Indeed a fair number of individuals were over 60 years old when they died. All of the unsexed individuals are aged between 0-20. Beyond this, the death rate for males and females are fairly similar, although more men seem to live slightly longer. The slightly larger number of males than females may be a reflection of the use of the cemetery by the local garrison.



Unfurnished graves.

76 of the graves from the site are unfurnished. There appears to be no correlation between the age and sex of an individual and the decision to furnish a grave. This is also true of the different grave forms, with a number of the tile graves and tombs containing no grave goods. The graph below shows the alignments of the unfurnished graves. There appears to be no significant deviation from the alignments of the site as a whole.



Furnished graves.

There are only forty four furnished graves at Tokod. It has already been demonstrated above that there is little correlation between the alignment of a grave and the provision of grave goods. The number of graves that could be dated was too small a group to analyse coherently, so the all of the furnished graves will be examined here.

The dated graves are:

Period 4. Graves 19, 85, and 94.

Period 4/5. Graves 27 and 51.

Period 5. Graves 28, 96 and 104/6.

Period 5/6. Grave 4.

Period 6. Graves 48 and 100.

These graves seem to suggest that the site is in use throughout the latter two thirds of the fourth century AD and possibly into the fifth. The furnishing of these graves is dominated by pottery and glass vessels and personal articles, with few other forms of grave good common. Many of the graves only contain a single form of grave good, and where combinations occur, personal articles and pottery are frequently included. The furnishing types of these graves are shown in the table below.

Type	P	W	U	E	A	C	O	Und	P 4	P 4/5	P 5	P 5/6	P 6
1	x							7					
2		x						3			2		
3			x					3					
4				x				2					
6							x	2					
7						x		1					
9	x	x						6				1	
12			x	x				1					
18	x		x						2				
23	x	x				x			1		1		
28	x						x	2		1			
39			x				x						1
41	x	x					x	3		1			
51	x		x				x						1
57		x					x	3					

The pottery is dominated by jugs and beakers, which are more commonly placed at the feet than the head. The personal articles of women tend to be worn, especially bracelets, beads, ear rings and hairpins. A few of these graves contain large numbers of bracelets, with most worn on the left arm and only one or two on the right. These appear to occur in graves of young girls, and seem likely to be an indicator of status.

The personal articles of the male graves are, in contrast, generally unworn. This is true of the crossbow brooches and belt fittings that make up the majority of the personal articles in the male graves. The only items of equipment from these graves are three bone combs, which are placed by the head or on the torso of the dead. Coins are rarely buried in these graves. Both male and female burials appear to have a coherence to their burial rite, but whilst that of the females can be paralleled locally, the male burials are unusual in the region. In the light of this, it seems likely that the male burials represent members of the garrison, which may have come from elsewhere in the empire. The female burials, however, fit in well with female burials in the locality, and may represent marriages between the garrison and the local community.

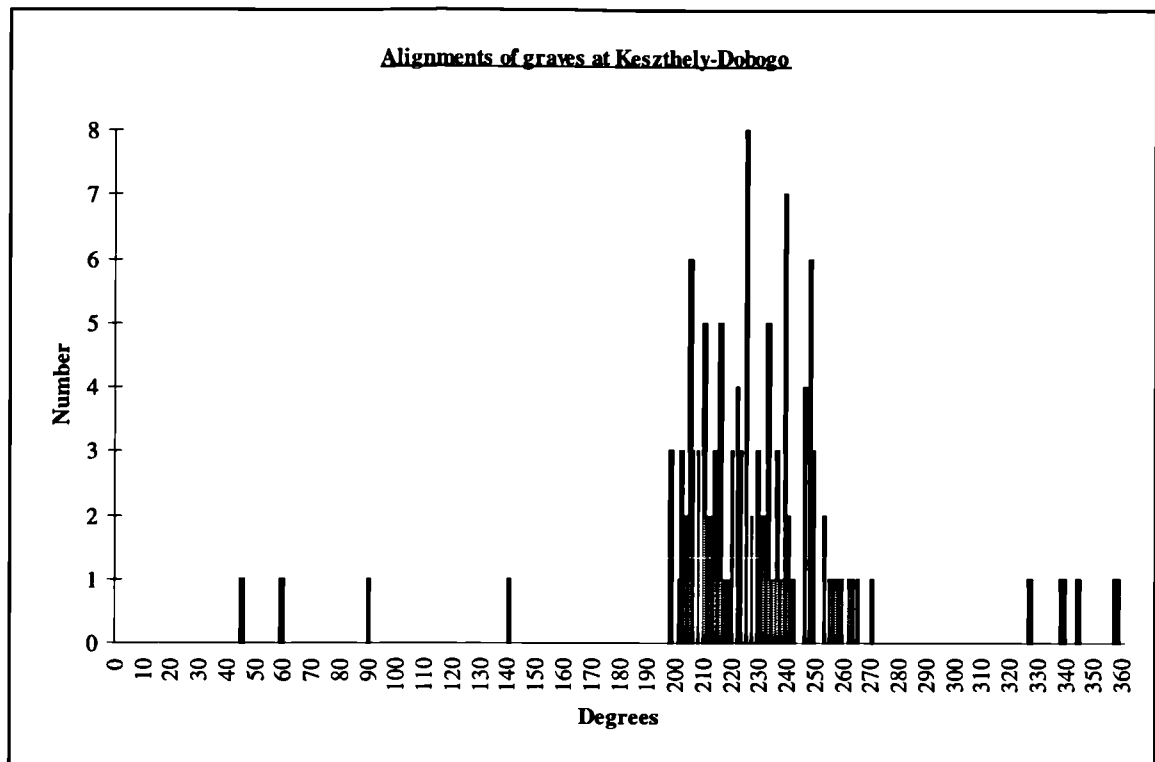
Keszthely-Dobogo.

The inhumations.

In total, some 134 inhumations were excavated from the cemetery at Keszthely-Dobogo.

Alignment.

Where the alignment of the graves are recorded, the majority are aligned in an arc of alignment of graves with the heads from the south-south-west to the west. Although there are a small number of different alignments, there are no other significant groupings of grave alignments. The high proportion of graves on site with similar alignments suggests that there is unlikely to be a major change in alignment over time.

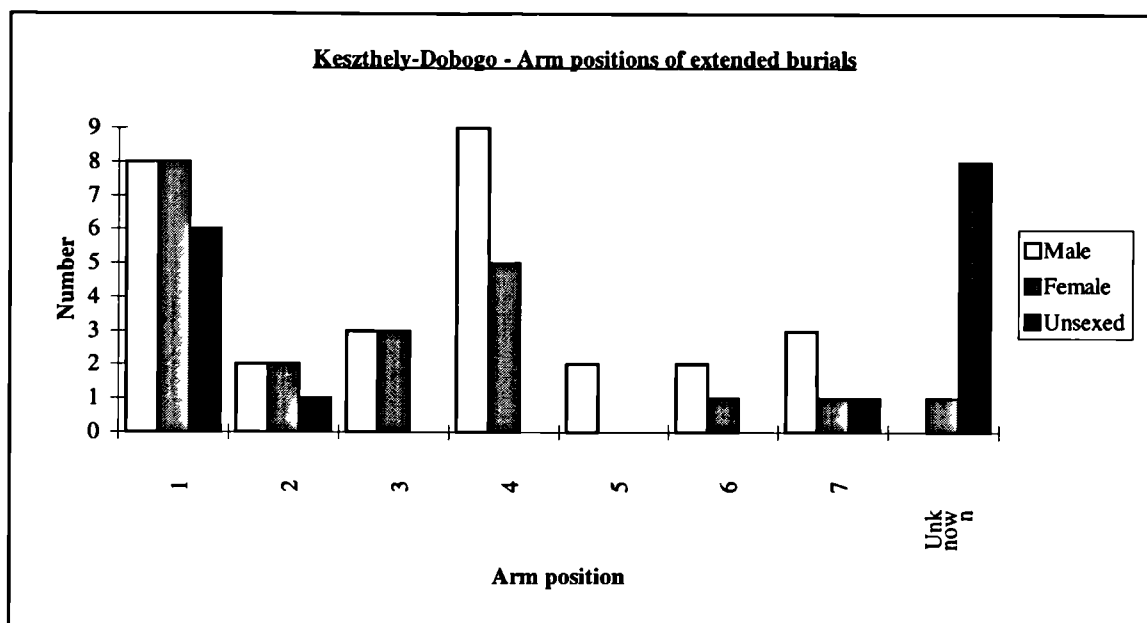


Grave form.

The majority of graves on the site are earth dug graves, which occasionally are stepped or contain a niche for the body or grave goods. There is evidence for two wooden coffins and ten tile graves. The former were identified through the presence of wood stains, and it seems likely that coffins are genuinely rare on the site.

Body position.

Only a few of the deceased are not placed in the extended position - one adult male was flexed with arm position 3, whilst a second was buried prone. The predominant arm positions of the extended burials on the site are positions 1, 3 and 4, although there are also a number of other arm positions recorded. The differences between the arm positions of the male and female burials reflect the overall proportions of the anthropology on the site.



Coffins and other containers for the body.

The proportions of furnished and unfurnished graves are shown in the table below. Children appear to have been slightly more likely to have been provided with a tile grave than adults. However, there is very little difference in the levels of furnishing of the adult and child graves, with 90% and 89% of these furnished. This appears to indicate that the choice of grave form may have been dictated by the age of the individuals (although the sample size is small), whilst there is no difference between the sexes in terms of the proportions of furnished graves. The two burials in coffins are both adults, one of which is furnished.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	7	71	78	3	27	30	108
Coffined	1	1	2	0	0	0	2
Tile graves	0	4	4	1	4	5	9
Total	8	76	84	4	31	35	119

Anthropology.

The anthropological analysis for the site is limited to sexing the individuals and ageing them to within broad age bands - infants, children and adults. Some 71% of the dead are recorded as adult, and the other 29% are children. A number of the dead are unsexed, and of the sexed graves, male burials are more common than female (42% are male and 29% female). This imbalance is interesting but could be caused by the sexing methods involved and the number of unsexed individuals could account for the smaller proportion of female inhumations.

Undated graves.

a. Unfurnished graves.

Only eighteen of the graves contained no grave goods. These show no unusual alignments, One of these graves was a tile grave and one burial was within a wooden coffin. The remainder were earth dug graves. Of these burials, four are of unsexed children, with another eight male adults. The remainder were not aged or sexed. It is impossible to assess the significance of this given the preponderance of male burials amongst the sexed individuals.

b. Furnished graves.

Roughly half of the furnished graves (53 out of 109) could not be dated closely. These show a relatively coherent burial rite, with worn personal articles buried in most of the graves. These often include beads, bracelets (with a small minority of graves having more bracelets worn on the left arm than the right). The only exceptions to the worn personal articles are the buckles buried in a few of the graves, which are unworn. Pottery vessels are relatively rare as grave goods. The most common vessels are jugs and jars. Items of equipment are, however, relatively common. These are often knives, awls and spindle whorls. A smaller proportion of graves contained coins and glass vessels. The furnishing types of these graves are shown below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							10
2		x						8
3			x					3
4				x				5
9	x	x						7
12			x	x				2
13		x		x				2
18	x		x					2
25	x	x		x				5
29	x	x		x			x	1
30	x		x	x		x	x	1
32	x			x			x	1
41	x	x					x	1
50	x			x				1
57		x					x	1
58		x		x			x	2
74	x		x			x	x	1

Dated graves.

56 of the furnished graves could be closely dated. These are:

Period 3. Graves 19, 24, 25, 27, 32, 42, 43, 83, 87, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 107, 109, 110, and 114.

Period 4. Graves 8, 14, 34, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 53, 55, 56, 58, 61, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 80, 82, 84, 89, 90, 99, 101, 102, 103, 106, 108, 112, 113 and 115.

Period 4/5. Graves 4, 64, 65 and 71.

Period 5. Graves 10 and 52.

The dated graves show few significant differences from the undated graves, although these graves contain much higher proportions of coins. Indeed, it would appear that the burial of relatively large numbers of coins is a characteristic of the rite for the whole site. The numbers and types of the dated graves shown below. The levels of furnishing change little over time, although the time span of the dated burials covers only a sixty year period (with the exception of two graves).

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 4/5	Pd 5
7						x		1	1		

13		x		x						1	
22	x			x		x		1	1		
23	x	x				x		1	1	1	
24		x				x			1		1
25	x	x		x					1		
26	x		x	x						1	
38		x		x		x		1	1		
43			x	x			x		1		
46	x	x		x		x	x	1	2		
52				x		x		1			
54			x	x		x	x		1		
55	x		x	x		x			1		
56			x	x		x			2		
58		x		x			x		2	1	
59		x		x		x	x	1	8		1
62		x				x	x		1		
65	x		x		x	x	x		1		
75	x	x		x		x		1	7		
76	x	x		x	x	x		1			

Whilst there is a relatively coherent rite for this cemetery, the author (Sagi, 1981) has suggested that the burials belong to an intrusive population from the black sea area, with a small number of graves also containing evidence for Sarmatian burials. However, the burial rite shows few changes from local rites, and there is little to indicate a non-indigenous rite. Indeed, the characteristics of the rite are similar to those of the surrounding sites. The graves identified as Sarmatian are disturbed, and therefore difficult to assess.

Intercisa.

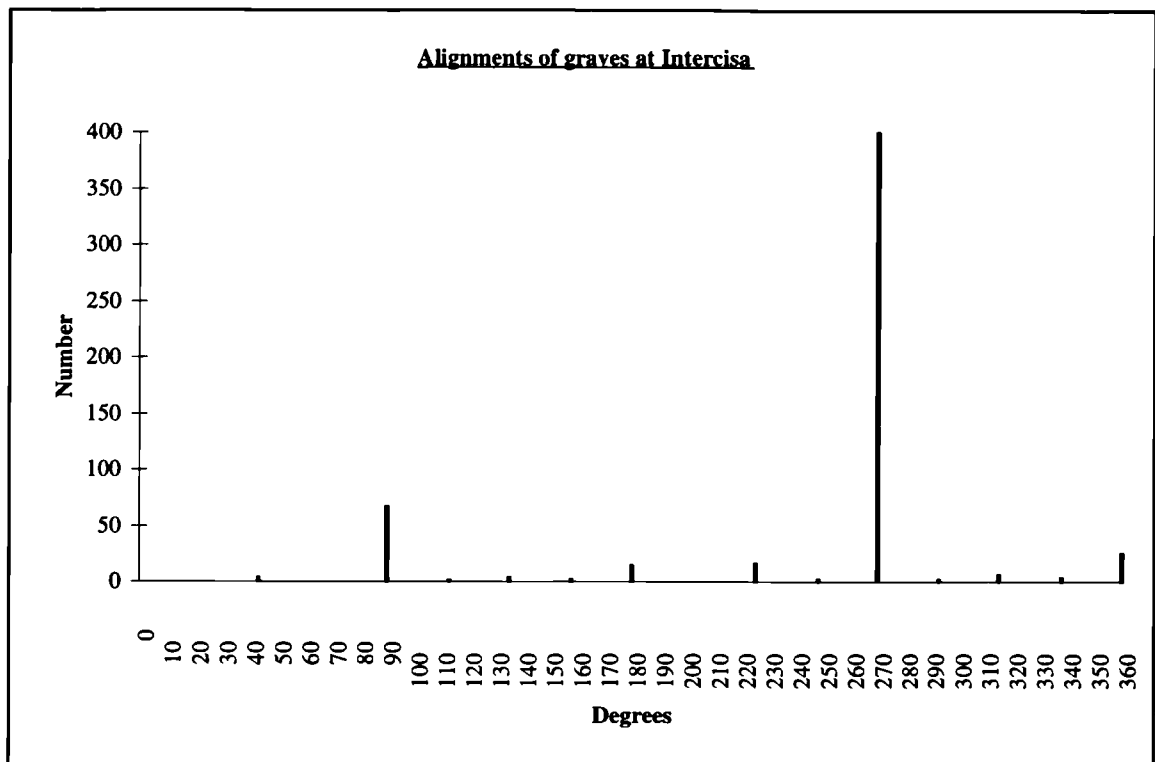
Some 596 graves from Intercisa were studied. The level of recording differs according to the date of the excavations, and a large number of graves had been robbed, both in the late Roman period and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The cemetery appears to have belonged to the late Roman fort of Intercisa.

The cremations.

There are eight cremations from Intercisa. The size and form of these graves suggests that they are *in situ* cremations. Seven of the eight are closely grouped, and it may be that they are closely dated - the three that could be dated, either by their coins or stratigraphically, date to the second half of the third or early fourth centuries (grave 1125 could be closely dated to period 1). The most numerous grave goods are coins, which occur singly in five of the graves. Interestingly, a number of these coins are large bronzes of the early Roman period. Pottery vessels are also common grave goods - three lamps, a jar and a jug in grave 1082 and a lamp in grave 1117. The other grave goods are a bead in grave 1082, two needles in graves 1117 & 1125 and box fittings in grave 1082.

The inhumations.

The alignment of the vast majority of the inhumations are recorded. All of the different groups of alignments are represented, but over 74% of the graves have a common alignment (west-east). The only other significant group of commonly aligned graves are the smaller group of graves aligned roughly east-west.

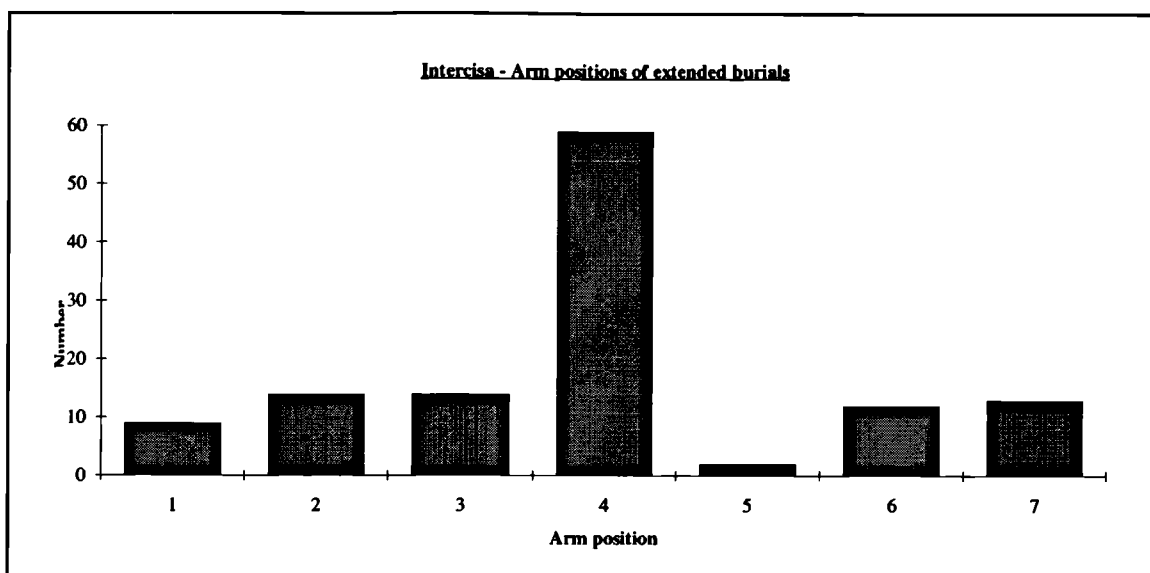


Grave form.

The predominant grave form is the simple earth grave, which makes up over 50% of the total. Tile-built graves are also extremely popular, with 218 inhumations using this form of burial. Stone-built tombs and coffins make up the majority of the other forms, at slightly over 10% each. There is also a single sarcophagus.

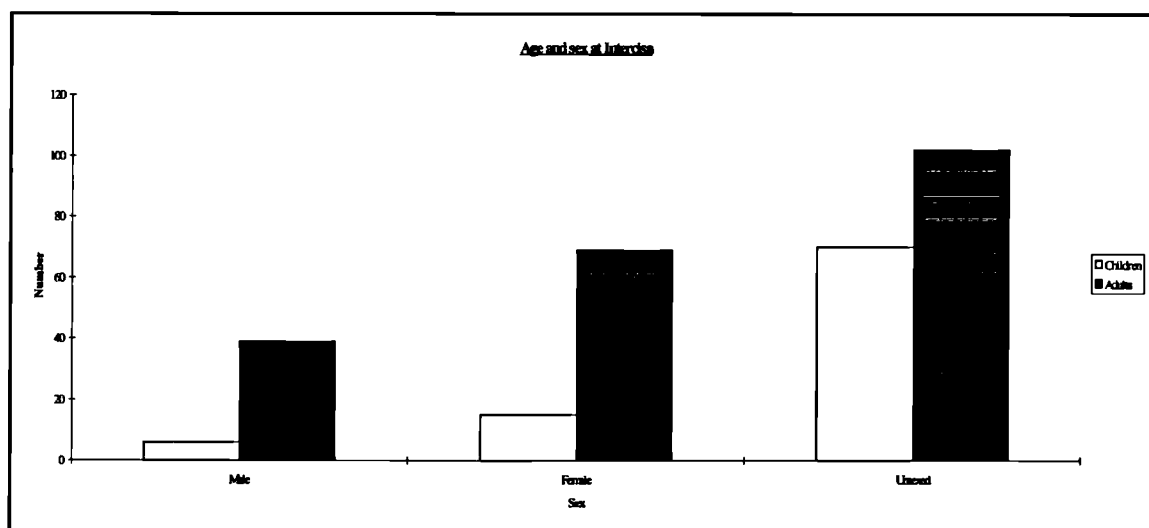
Body position.

The body position is less commonly recorded, but where it is, the vast majority (139 graves) of the dead are extended, with only a small proportion (4 graves) in a flexed position. Arm position 4 is the most common position, although all of the arm positions are represented. Because the anthropology for the cemetery is so poor, only the overall figures are shown here.



Anthropology.

There is only a basic anthropological study for the site, from which it is possible to see that there are nearly 70% of adults to 30% of children (210 adults and 91 children), but where the sex is recorded, females make up nearly 28% of the population, compared to only 15% for the males. However, over half of the inhumations are unsexed.



Unfurnished graves.

Over 57% of the inhumations were unfurnished. These show little overall difference in their alignments from the rest of the site. The main peak of alignment is

still west -east, with a number of less common alignments also represented. Similar proportions of the differing grave forms are evident in both the furnished and the unfurnished graves, suggesting that these do not have a significant influence on the furnishing of graves. There is little value in studying the anthropology of the dead beyond confirming the presence of both males and females of all ages in the unfurnished graves.

Furnished graves.

146 of the furnished graves could be closely dated. The grave goods are dominated by pottery, personal articles and items of equipment. The furnishing types of the graves are shown below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							10
2		x						26
3			x					33
4				X				27
6							x	4
7						x		5
8	x	x			x			1
9	x	x						6
12			x	X				12
13		x		X				1
16		x			x			1
17			x		x			1
18	x	x						2
24		x				x		1
25	x	x		X				2
26	x		x	X				1
34	x	x				x	x	1
38		x		X		x		1
42				X			x	1
43			x	X			x	1
48	x					x		1
50	x			X				1
52				X		x		1
57		x					x	1
58		x		X			x	1

The pottery vessels are dominated by jugs and glazed jugs. These tend to occur either singly or in conjunction with personal articles and, more rarely, other grave goods. Where the positions of the personal articles are recorded, the majority are worn. The majority of crossbow brooches, necklaces, hairpins, earrings and bracelets are worn, with the latter occasionally buried in significant numbers, most of which are placed on the left arm. There are a small number of personal articles, which are clearly unworn, with buckles and belt fittings, the most common of these. There is an interesting coherence to the graves containing unworn personal articles and equipment, which generally contain buckles (and occasionally associated belt fittings) along with knives. This pattern of burial has been recognised elsewhere in sites associated with a military presence. Knives are the most common items of equipment, although a number of graves also contained combs or wooden boxes and keys. Four also contained weapons in the form of arrowheads and an axe. Coins and glass vessels are rare inclusions in these graves. The general pattern that emerges is clear. The majority of graves contain single forms of grave goods, with pottery, personal articles and equipment dominating the furnishing. These also dominate graves containing combinations of different forms.

Dated graves.

Eighty eight of the dated graves from the site contained grave goods. These were dated as follows.

Period 1: AD 240 - 270. Graves 928, 1106, 1107, 1110, 1125 and 1331.

Period 2: AD 270 - 300. Graves 22, 447, 1010, and 1330.

Period 3: AD 300 - 330. Graves 161, 1011, 1036, 1049, 1050, 1221, 1225, 1229, 1239, 1269, 1271, 1289, 1293 and 1300.

Period 4: AD 330-364. Graves 2, 8, 12, 38, 159, 167, 1078, 1253, 1286, 1287, 1315, 1352 and 1355.

Period 4/5: AD 330-364. Graves 45, 84, 100, 105, 126, 128, 157, 451, 1001, 1136 and 1150.

Period 5: AD 364 - 390. Graves 36, 56, 94, 118, 121, 146, 458, 963, 1030, 1032, 1056, 1065, 1115, 1126, 1128, 1141, 1152, 1170, 1175, 1188, 1200 and 1320.

Period 6: AD 390 onwards. Graves 131 and 927.

The furnishing of these graves differs little from the picture for the undated graves, although they contain a higher proportion of coins and glass vessels. The furnishing types of these graves are shown in the table below.

Type	P	W	U	E	A	C	O	P1	P2	P3	P4	P 4/5	P5	P6
1	x											1		
2		x											1	
3			x							1	1		5	1
4				x				1						
6							x	1						
7						X		1	1	5	5		5	
9	x	x										1		1
10			x			X					2		1	
12			x	x							1			
13		x		x									1	
22	x			x		X							2	
23	x	x				X				1	1		1	
24		x				X					2		2	
25	x	x		x						1		2		
28	x						x					1		
38		x		x		X				1			1	
39			x				x						1	
41	x	x					x					2		
46	x	x		x		X	x	1						
48	x					X			1					
49	x		x			X				2				
50	x			x								1		
51	x		x				x					1		
52				x		X				1	1		2	
53						X	x			1			1	
54			x	x		X	x			1		1		
56			x	x		X					1		4	
62		x				X	x						1	

63			x			X	x						1	
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There is a slightly smaller proportion of graves containing single types of grave goods, but this may result from the method of dating the graves. It seems reasonable to assume that many of these graves represent the wealthier graves in the cemetery. There is no obvious change in the furnishing levels of these graves over time, although the small numbers of graves from each period makes it hard to draw positive conclusions. There is no apparent decrease in the levels of grave furnishing over time. This may be a reflection on the small numbers of graves in period 6, but this is unlikely. What changes there are appear to be linked to grave form and alignment. There appears to be an increase in the use of tile graves and tombs throughout the fourth century, possibly replacing the coffin as the most common container for the dead. Graves of the second half of the third and early fourth century are predominantly aligned east-west, whilst those of *circa* AD 330 onwards tend to be aligned west-east.

The change from cremation to inhumation appears to take place *circa* AD240, with the latest cremation coin dated to between AD 249 and AD251. There appears to be a gradual shift in the inhumations away from the use of wooden coffins in favour of tile graves and stone- and tile-built tombs. A number of these graves are extremely well constructed and indicate a high level of investment in the dead prior to the provision of grave goods. However, the form of these graves made them liable to grave robbing, both in late antiquity and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a number of cases the graves have either been robbed or may have been robbed.

The only real changes in the furnishing of the graves appear to be in individual items, such as oil lamps, which appear to go out of use in the early fourth century. The overall pattern appears to be one where the furnished graves are dominated by pottery (including glazed vessels), worn personal articles and equipment, with the richer graves containing combinations of these grave goods and glass vessels. There are a number of specific rites which may prove worthy of comparison with other sites, notably the burial

of large numbers of worn bracelets (with the majority worn on the left arm) in a few of the graves and the burial of numbers of wooden boxes amongst the items of equipment.

There only group to show sufficient internal coherence of rite to suggest that they differ from the range expected for the site are the group of graves containing unworn personal articles - in the form of buckles and belt fittings - and items of equipment, generally knives. Similar graves have been identified in cemeteries associated with late Roman military forts, and it seems reasonable to suggest that these graves are military burials.

Somogyszil.

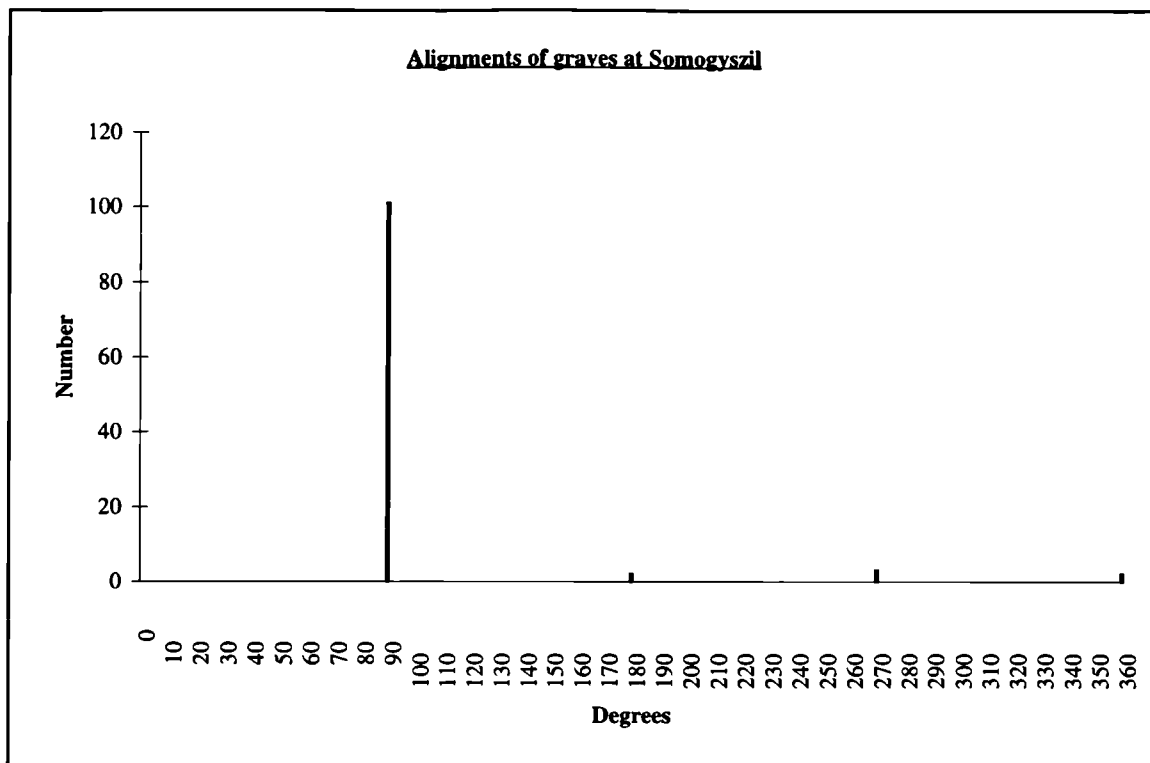
a. The cremations.

There are two cremations from the site. One contains no grave goods, whilst the second contains pottery, a bracelet and a coin, which dated the grave to period 4.

b. The inhumations.

Alignment.

The vast majority of graves at Somogyszil are aligned roughly east-west, with a small proportion of graves aligned south-north, west-east and north-south. The large number of graves of one alignment indicates that there is no chance of any change in alignment over time.

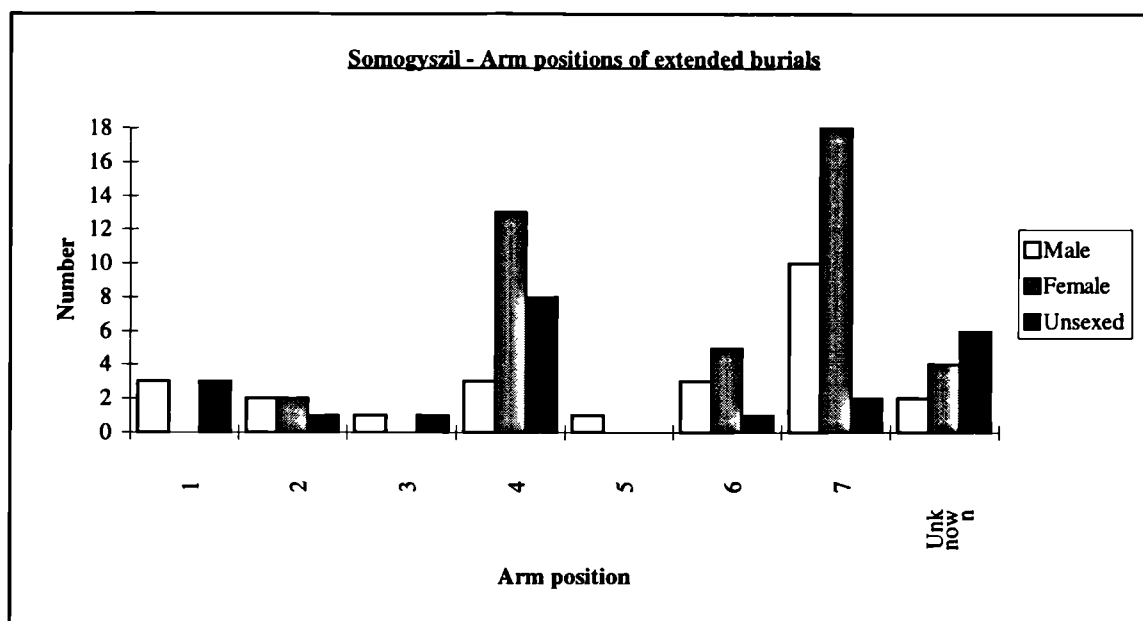


Grave form.

Only eleven of the inhumations from the cemetery were not simple earth dug graves. These were all tile-built graves. Two of the graves were double graves, containing two bodies.

Body position.

All of the recorded burials are extended burials, with the arm positions dominated by positions 4 and 7. The disparity between the female and male arm positions is likely to be a reflection of the differing proportions of male and female burial on the site as a whole.



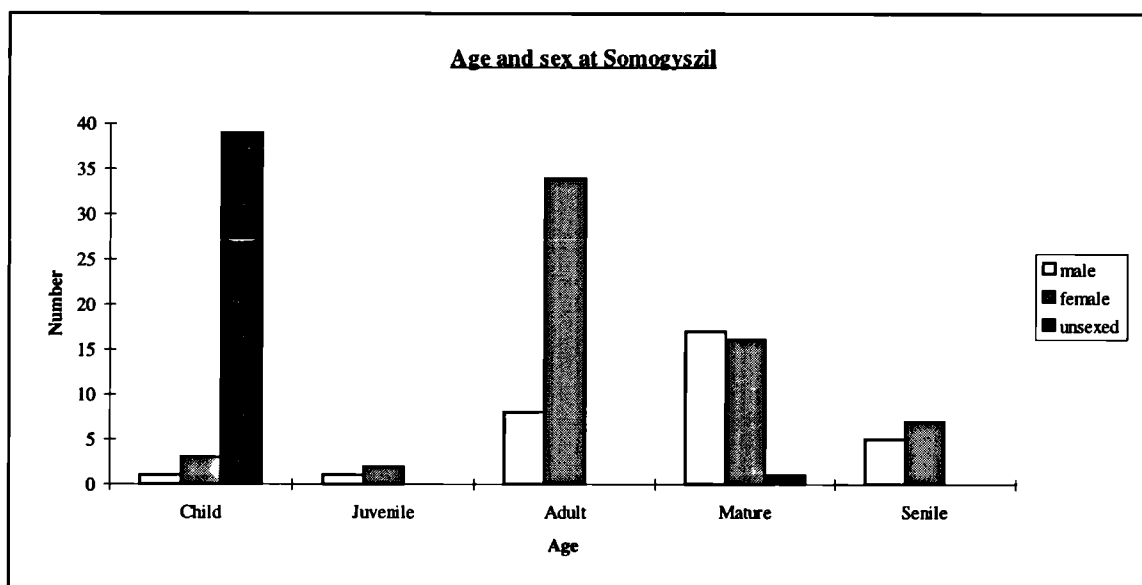
Coffins and other containers.

The relationships between age, grave form and furnishing are shown in the table below. The proportions of children buried in tile graves are not significantly higher than in the earth graves, although the sample size is small. Similar proportions of adult and child graves are furnished - 14% and 13% respectively. Nine of the eleven tile graves are furnished (81%), compared to 87% of the earth dug graves. Because of the small number of tile graves, it is difficult to establish the significance of the four furnished burials of children. All that can be said is that more than half of the furnished burials of children are buried in tile graves. It seems as though there is little difference between adults and children in terms of either the levels of furnishing or the form of the grave.

	Adult Unfurn.	Adult Furn.	Adult Total	Child Unfurn.	Child Furn.	Child Total	Overall Total
Un-coffined	10	69	79	6	35	41	120
Tile Grave	2	5	7	0	4	4	11
Total	12	74	86	6	39	45	131

Anthropology.

The anthropology of the dead is not fully recorded, with the ageing confined to different age groups (child, juvenile, adult, mature and senile). There are a relatively high number of graves for which the age and sex of the individual buried could not be adequately determined. Nearly twice as many burials are identified as female than male (42% females to 22% identified males, with 36% unsexed).



Undated graves.

Although a number of these graves could be dated, some 91 graves remained undated. 27 of these were unfurnished, and a further 64 were furnished but not closely dated.

Unfurnished graves.

The unfurnished graves share a similar range of alignments to the rest of the site - all but two are aligned east-west. Most of the graves are earth dug graves, with only two tile graves. The anthropological evidence shows no significant deviation from the norm for the site - both adults (of both sexes) and children are amongst the unfurnished burials.

Furnished graves.

The furnished graves are dominated by graves containing worn personal articles. These often include sets of personal articles, particularly amongst the female graves, where bracelets, necklaces, hairpins, earrings, finger rings and occasionally brooches often occur in groups. There are a small proportion of graves containing large numbers of bracelets where the majority are worn on the left arm. The majority of these are burials of young females, whilst most of the adult female graves contain two or three bracelets. It is possible that the large number of bracelets worn on the left arm may be indicative of a certain social position - perhaps that of unmarried female in view of the age grouping of these graves. This variation appears to represent part of the overall rite rather than a separate rite. The second coherent rite, which differs slightly from the norm, are a small numbers of graves which contain unworn buckles and associated belt fittings along with knives. A few graves contain unworn personal articles, although these are generally rare, and often occur in graves where other articles are worn. Buckles and belt fittings are the only articles that are generally unworn, although a small proportion of the crossbow brooches, beads, ear- and finger rings are also unworn. A number of graves have pins placed by the feet, but these could equally have been functional items, perhaps used as shroud fastenings.

Items of equipment are also common grave goods, with knives common. A number of graves also contain unusual iron spikes, usually placed on the legs or feet of the deceased. These are usually found in female burials, although there are a number unsexed. These are described as spikes or spear shapes, but have no obvious function. Their size and relationship to female burials suggests that they may not have a burial related function (as their coherent positioning within the grave might suggest). These occur in a number of the graves with large numbers of bracelets suggesting that these are unlikely to be an intrusive group.

Pottery vessels (including glazed vessels) are relatively common, and are generally placed by the feet. Jugs dominate the pottery assemblage. Coins and glass vessels are not as common in these graves as in the dated graves. The furnishing types of these graves are shown below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Number
1	x							3
2		x						5
3			x					10
4				x				2
6							x	1
9	x	x						7
12			x	x				4
13		x		x				1
18	x		x					1
24		x				x		2
25	x	x		x				4
26	x		x	x				3
27	x		x	x			x	1
28	x						x	1
29	x	x		x			x	1
47			x	x	x			1
49	x		x			x		1
50	x			x				10
57		x					x	1
58		x		x			x	1
70	x	x			x	x	x	1
75	x	x		x		x		3

The dated graves.

The dated graves from Somogyszil were as follows.

Period 3. Grave 31.

Period 4. Graves 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 19, 25, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 44, 48, 54, 69, 79, 80, 83, 87, 88, 97, 98, 99, 100, 110, 112, 114, 117, 119, 121, 122, 125, 129, 130, 134 and 140.

Period 5. Graves 2, 26, 38, 52, 60, 68, 71, 76, 81, 82, 84, 94, 124, 132 and 139.

These graves differ from the undated graves only in the provision of more coins and glass vessels and in an overall increase in the levels of furnishing. Fewer graves contain single forms of grave goods. The high numbers of coins buried in a many of the graves are worthy of mention. A number of the dated graves contain crossbow brooches, the majority of which are worn. The furnishing types of these graves are shown below.

Type	Pot	Wpa	Upa	Equ	AnR	Cns	OtV	Pd 3	Pd 4	Pd 5
2		x							1	
7						x			2	
8	x	x			x				1	
9	x	x							1	
10			x			x			1	
23	x	x				x			2	
24		x				x			4	
26	x		x	x					2	
29	x	x		x			x		2	
34	x	x				x	x			1
38		x		x		x			5	
46	x	x		x		x	x	1	2	1
48	x					x			1	1
51	x		x				x		1	
52				x		x			1	1
53						x	x		3	
55	x		x	x		x			1	
56			x	x		x			1	1
60		x		x	x		x			1
62		x				x	x		1	
63			x			x	x		2	
69			x			x	x		1	
74	x		x			x	x			1
75	x	x		x		x			4	3
76	x	x		x	x	x			1	
77	x	x		x	x	x	x		1	

There appear to be few significant changes in the burial rite over time. However, the time span of the cemetery is apparently short, and the potential for identifying change therefore smaller.

Chapter 3: Local and regional comparisons of the cemeteries studied.

The analysis in this chapter covers 45 sites throughout Western Europe. The list of sites below corresponds to the numbers on figures 1 - 20 below.

1. Poundbury, nr Dorchester, England.
2. Alington Avenue, nr Dorchester, England.
3. Lankhills, Winchester, England.
4. West Tenter St, London, England.
5. Oudenburg, Belgium.
6. La Rue Perdue, Tournai, Belgium.
7. St. Quentin, Tournai, Belgium.
8. Furfooz, Belgium.
9. Noyelles-sur-Mer, Picardie, France.
10. Nouvion, France.
11. Nibas, Picardie, France.
12. Frenouville, nr Caen, Calvados, France.
13. St. Martin-de-Fontenay, nr Caen, Calvados, France.
14. Marteville, France.
15. Barisis-aux-Bois, Aisne, France.
16. Ville-sur-Retourne, Champagne, France.
17. Poitiers, France.
18. Verteuil, France.
19. Cenon, France.
20. Saint-Jean de Conques, Languedoc, France.
21. Clapiès, Villeneuve-les-Béziers, Hérault, France.
22. Fontlongue, Vias, Hérault, France.
23. Mas de Garric, Meze, Hérault, France.
24. Lansargues, Hérault, France.
25. Les Trentières, Saint-Nazaire de Pézan, Hérault, France.
26. La Brèche, Laudun, Gard, France.

27. Font-du-Buis, Saze, France.
28. Nativau, France.
29. La Guérine, Cabasse, Var, France.
30. Costebelle, Hyères, Var, France.
31. La Calade, Cabasse, Var, France.
32. Krefeld-Gellep, Germany.
33. Neuberg (Keller), Germany.
34. Neuberg, Germany.
35. Burghof, Germany.
36. Burgheim, Germany.
37. Augsburg, Fr. 17, Germany.
38. Augsburg, Fr. 15, Germany.
39. Goggingen, Germany.
40. Seestall, Germany.
41. Gerulate, Czechoslovakia.
42. Tokod, Hungary.
43. Keszthely-Dobogo, Hungary.
44. Intercisa, Hungary.
45. Somogyszil, Hungary.

These sites vary considerably in terms of their size and the type of community they served, and part of the discussion below focuses on whether there are differences or similarities between similar types of site, or widespread spatial differences regardless of the type of site. The comparisons below concentrate largely on the sites studied, and cannot hope to provide an infallible guide to every burial and rite in the study area. However it is hoped to establish general patterns of regional burial rites.

The analysis above has focused on the graves, the grave goods and the dead themselves. This study established predominant values for these categories for each of the cemeteries, and where possible, looked at the extent to which these values change over time.

These have been determined as accurately as possible, but it should be stated that few sites are excavated or published to an equal degree of precision, and that the data from some sites may not be of any use in comparisons. The reasons for including the small sites in detail are given in Chapter 1 above.

Alignment.

Because of the variation in the accuracy with which the alignment of graves has been recorded at different sites, the analysis of grave alignments is less detailed than would be ideal. For ease of comparison, the alignments have been split into eight groups, with the main peaks of alignments from each site shown in the table below.

	22.5° to 67.5°	67.5° to 112.5°	112.5° to 157.5°	157.5° to 202.5°	202.5° to 247.5°	247.5° to 292.5°	292.5° to 337.5°	337.5° to 22.5°
Main Peak	Sites 6, 7, 15 & 20.	Sites 5, 14, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39 & 40.	Site 16.	Sites 9, 10, 12 & 25.	Sites 42 & 43.	Sites 1, 3, 22, 27, 29, 30, 32 & 44.	Sites 2, 28 & 41.	Sites 4, 11, 13 & 24.
Second peak	Site 2.	Sites 16, 28, 44 & 45.	Sites 14, 15 & 41.	Sites 5, 30, 32 & 36.	Sites 12 & 27.	Sites 4, 26, 33, 37, 39, 42 & 43.		Site 25.

The sample sizes vary considerably. Not all of the graves recorded have an alignment recorded for them, and few of these sites have a significant enough number of graves to make up a good sample. The result of this is that for some of the sites, a small number of graves can distort the picture.

Two of the alignment groupings form the main peak of alignment in a large number of the sites studied. Many of the sites with the main peak of graves aligned between 67.5° and 112. 5° (including the east-west aligned graves) belong to the group of graves from south-eastern Germany. A number of other sites also have peaks of these alignments, including Oudenburg, La Calade, La Brèche, Marteville and Somogyszil.

The second group of graves shares 247.5° to 292.5° as the majority alignment, and includes Poundbury, Lankhills, Krefeld-Gellep and Intercisa, along with a number of the smaller sites.

Clearly there is a bias in favour of graves dug on a west-east axis on the sites studied, with fewer sites having a main peak of graves dug on a north-south axis. However, there does not appear to be any particular coherence in the groups of cemeteries with common major alignments (with the exception of the group in south eastern Germany, which generally share a common predominant alignment). Rather it appears that the choice of alignment of a cemetery is predominantly determined by local factors. On a number of sites, graves are aligned according to surrounding boundaries. This is particularly true of the British sites, where cemeteries often expand across their initial boundaries.

The majority of sites show a single predominant alignment, with a small range of other alignments. The exceptions to this are Alington Avenue, Frenouville, Krefeld-Gellep, Neuberg an der Donau, Augsburg Fr. 17 and Intercisa. These all contain significant concentrations of alignments forming secondary peaks of alignment. Those at Neuberg, Augsburg and Intercisa all represent graves dug along the same axis as the primary peak of alignments, but with the head placed at the opposite end of grave to the majority. The secondary peaks at Krefeld-Gellep and Alington Avenue do not share the same axis as the main groups on these sites. The alignments of graves at Alington Avenue are generally dictated by the alignment of boundary ditches (a situation mirrored by the outlying cemeteries at Poundbury, where the huge numbers of west-east graves dominate numerically). At Krefeld-Gellep, there is clearly a link between the furnishing of a grave and its alignment (see above). This is also true of the graves at Poundbury, although the situation is complicated by the periphery cemeteries.

There are a number of sites where there is sufficient dating evidence for the changes in alignment over time to be examined. At Poundbury, whilst there are only a small proportion of dated graves, it is clear that there are differing reasons behind the two separate groupings of alignments. The earliest graves belong to the periphery

cemeteries, where the alignments are determined by nearby enclosure boundaries. The main cemetery appears to date from the second third of the fourth century AD onwards. These graves share a west-east alignment, with none aligned lengthways along the south-north boundary ditch that divided enclosures 2 and 3. A small number of graves from the periphery cemeteries are clearly contemporary with the graves of the main cemetery, but do not share their common alignment. This suggests that the two rites co-existed with each other (see the discussion on religion below).

There is a shift in the predominant alignment of graves at Lankhills away from graves aligned roughly south west-north east to those aligned west-east. This shift appears to take place around AD 364 (Clarke, 1979, 131-2). The dearth of graves aligned roughly south west-north east continues to be a feature, although the popularity of graves aligned between roughly west-east declines, and there is less coherence in the overall pattern of alignments in periods 5 to 6 and 6.

There are two significant points to note at Krefeld-Gellep. The first of these is the fact that the dated graves have a significantly higher proportion of graves aligned south-north than the undated graves and that the latter have a corresponding peak of graves aligned west-east. The second is that there appears to have been a change in the most common alignments of the dated graves over time, with the most common alignment prior to AD330 being south-north and thereafter there is a shift towards the use of graves aligned south west-north east and west-east, to the extent that the proportion of graves dated to after AD 364 aligned west-east match the mean for the site as a whole. It would seem that the change may be a reflection of a shift towards possible Christian inhumations (the most common alignment of the unfurnished graves is west-east - considerably higher than the mean for the site). This is supported by the positioning of a high proportion of these graves in a spatially distinct area (see the discussion on religion below)

Grave form.

Cremations.

Late cremations occur on ten of the sites studied (Fig. 1.). There appears to be two groups, with groups of cremations occurring in the West and in Hungary. This may just be a reflection of the small number of sites studied between these two areas. On most of these sites, cremation seems to be a minority rite (at St Quentin, cremations make up some 60% of the depositions on site, but this is due to the small number of graves excavated). The types of these cremations are shown below. Urned cremations seem to be confined to the western sites studied, although the total number of cremations studied is small. Lengthy discussion of the significance of late Roman cremation burials in Britain have suggested both a Germanic origin for the rite (Gillam 1979, 107, Clarke 1979, 351), and that these represent a continuation of the rite that dominated burial in the early Empire (Clarke 1979, 351, Philpott, 1991, 51). There is little evidence from any of the sites studied here that cremation forms an intrusive rite. Indeed, whilst they are generally minority rites, there are no specific attributes or items within the graves which could suggest an unusual origin.

Sites	Un-urned cremations	Urned cremations	<i>In situ</i> cremations
Poundbury		3	
Alington Avenue		3	
Lankhills	3	3	1
La Rue Perdue		3	
St Quentin		6	
Furfooz		2	
St Martin de Font.	3		
Krefeld-Gellep	138	20	2
Intercisa			8
Somogyszil			?2

In addition to these sites, there is evidence for cremation burials at Gerulate, Ville-sur-Retourne, La Guerine, La Calade, Font-du-Buis, and Costebelle, although these dated to before the period of study, and represent the predominant form of deposition in the early Roman Empire.

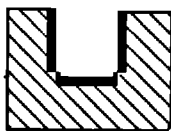
Earth dug graves.

In these graves, there is no evidence that the body was placed within any form of protection, such as a coffin or that the body space has in any way been lined. In a sense, these form a negative category, as they are defined by the absence of specific grave forms, and are best viewed as an indication of the general expenditure on protection for the corpse - a low percentage of earth graves suggests that the majority of the population are in favour of the enclosure of the body within a man made structure of some sort. We cannot know however, whether the earth graves contain a hidden proportion of inhumations where the body was wrapped in a shroud, or indeed in a purely wooden coffin (wooden coffins are identified by the presence of nails and coffin fittings alone on a number of sites). However, there are a number of sites where these earth graves form the majority - those sites where the earth graves make up more than 50% of the total for the whole site are marked on Fig 2.

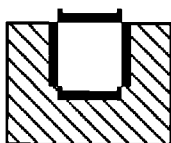
By and large, the percentage of earth graves on sites increases the further East the site is. Thus, the percentages for the two British sites are low, those for France and the low countries are higher and those for Germany and Hungary higher still. The size of a number of the sites makes some of these figures unreliable, although the general trend is clear.

Tile lined graves.

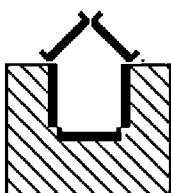
Tile lined graves consist of a number of different types of graves, which are shown below.



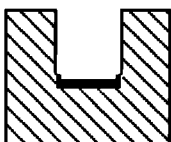
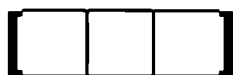
Type 1: Tile lined (and occasionally floored), but no roof.



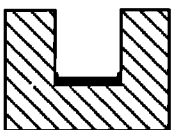
Type 2: Tile lined and covered. Occasionally floored.



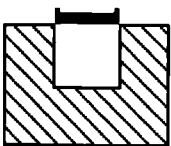
Type 3: Tile lined (occasionally floored), and covered (peaked roof).



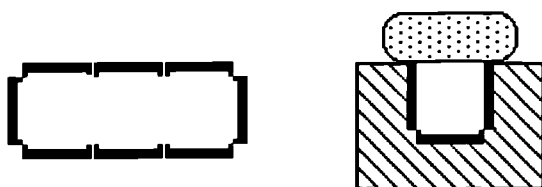
Type 4: Tile at head and feet. Occasionally floored. No cover.



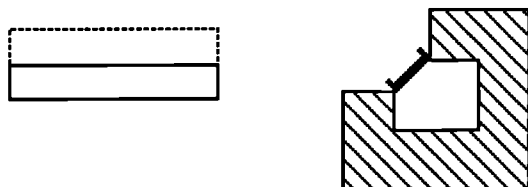
Type 5: Tile at one end of the grave. Occasionally floored. No lining or cover.



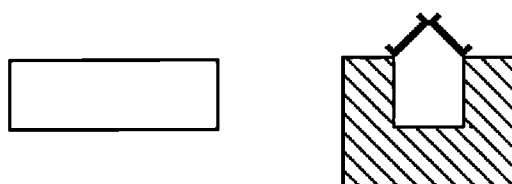
Type 6: Simple earth grave covered with tiles.



Type 7: Tile lined and covered with stone blocks. Occasionally floored.



Type 8: Niche grave with angled tile covering.



Type 9. Simple earth grave with pointed tile roof.

The distribution of tile graves from these sites (see Fig 3) clearly shows concentrations of tile graves in Hungary and the South of France. None of the British sites contained any of these late tile graves - those identified in Philpott's study of British burial rites are described as continental in origin and confined to urban and military sites (Philpott, 1991, 67). None are identified in north-western France and Belgium, apart from one tile grave at Ville-sur-Retourne and the eight tile graves at Krefeld-Gellep.

The number of these types from the sites are shown in the table below. Where the tile graves on a site are not recorded in detail, the row is left blank. The greatest diversity and complexity of tile grave forms can be seen in the Hungarian graves. A number of these were dated, and generally date to the late third and fourth centuries.

The tile graves are also common in the South of France. These sites are usually small, with tile graves fairly common. These also appear to date to the late third or fourth century. In both its main areas of use, tile graves seem to come into use in period one and continue in use as long as the cemetery is in use.

Site	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16	1								
20									
21									
22			1						
23									
24									
25	3								
26	3		1						
27		5							
28	2								
29	1	1	1						
30		2	2						
31	2	1							
32									
41		2							
42	2	3	2	1	1	4	1		
43	1	3				1		1	
44		176	7	1		8		11	1
45									

Stone-lined graves.

Stone-lined graves are similar to tile lined graves in that stones are used to protect the cavity containing the body, although these are generally less well constructed than the tile graves. Indeed their form varies considerably, making it hard to study them as a single entity. They usually contain a few flat stones laid on end around the body. They are not common on the sites studied and rarely occur on the same sites as tile graves (see Fig 4). They seem to be a Western phenomenon, with the one grave at Neuberg-an-der-Donau being the furthest east. Dated examples all date to the second half of the fourth century.

Wooden Coffins.

These are the most common of specialised grave form used on the sites studied, with the clear exception of Hungary, where only Intercisa and Keszthely-Dobogo show good evidence for the use of coffins, although the use of coffins on these sites is secondary to tile graves. Fig 5. shows the sites where coffins make up more than 50% of the grave forms. Most of these are concentrated amongst the north-western sites. The 'outliers' to the main group (St-Jean de Conques, Lansargues, Burgheim and Augsburg Fr. 15) are all small sites, and their percentages could therefore be distortions.

The form of the coffins varies, but not significantly. All are basically wooden boxes, usually nailed together or bound at the corners with metal brackets. Coffins made from wood alone are rare, although there were seven found at Poundbury, and a large number of those recorded at Krefeld-Gellep rely on the identification of wood stains in the soil. Their absence from the majority of sites studied may be a reflection of the poor archaeological visibility of wood stains under certain conditions or the inadequate techniques of some of the excavations.

Lead Coffins.

This category covers both lead-built coffins and lead-lined coffins. These are found on five of the sites studied - Poundbury, Alington Avenue, Tournai, Verteuil and Cenon (see Fig. 6) - but this small number of sites cannot reliably represent the overall distribution of these graves in western Europe. The largest sample of these coffins comes from Poundbury, where some 26 lead-lined wooden coffins were excavated, and are often associated with plaster burials (see below). All but two of these belonged to the main cemetery (Farwell & Molleson, 1993, p 63) and are therefore likely to have been fourth century in date. None is well dated, although the example from Cenon may date to Period 2/3, and Tournai contains graves which date from periods 2 to 6. The use of lead coffins may well depend on the availability of lead in much the same way as sarcophagi are more common in areas containing suitable stone, but the distribution of lead is harder to define with certainty.

Sarcophagi.

Sarcophagi are rare in sites of the period studied. They occur at Poundbury, Marteville, Nativau, Krefeld-Gellep and Intercisa . They do not seem to form any regional groupings, and their use could well be determined by the wealth, wishes and possibly even religion of an individual as well as more practical considerations such as the availability of suitable stone in the local area. Interestingly neither Frenouville or St-Martin-de-Fontenay contain any sarcophagi of the late Roman period despite the availability of the local Caen stone. Poundbury provides us with the largest sample. Ten sarcophagi came from this site, all made of local stone. Seven of these were associated with the remains of plaster burials (see below), and all but one came from the main cemetery, suggesting a fourth century date (Farwell and Molleson, 1993, p 64). Three sarcophagi were found at Marteville, and single sarcophagi were found at Nibas, Nativau, Krefeld-Gellep and Intercisa, although none of these were well dated.

Tombs and mausolea.

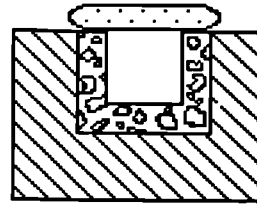
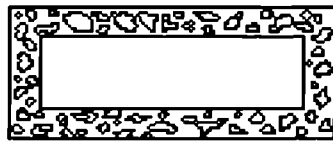
The only mausolea from the sites studied are at Poundbury. These were upstanding structures similar to those used in the early Roman empire. They were built on large stone foundations, may have had substantial roofs and two show evidence of having contained painted wall plaster. Each contained a number of inhumations, five of which were within stone sarcophagi. Only one of these could be reliably dated, as a coin of AD 350-1 was found in its mortar bedding. A study of the anthropology of the bodies from the mausolea at Poundbury suggested that they were the focus for family burials, with a number of individuals from within and around one of the mausolea showing similar dental crowning and skull bone shape (Molleson in Farwell and Molleson, 1993, p. 146).

The other examples considered here are of stone built tombs. The various forms of these tombs can be seen below. These occur on two sites, Tokod and Intercisa and are

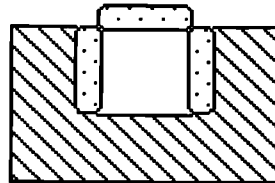
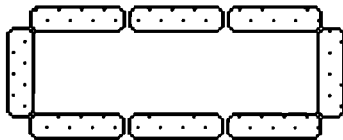
clearly a Hungarian phenomenon. The numbers of these types of graves from the two sites can be seen in the graph below.

Site	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
Tokod	7	2	1	1
Intercisa	14	21	3	0

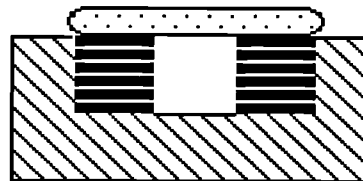
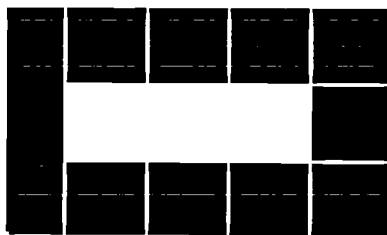
The figures for Intercisa are somewhat misleading, as some 70 tombs were excavated. The numbers here are for those graves which were illustrated or described well enough for their form to be determined. The anthropology of the tombs at Tokod and Intercisa did not differ significantly from the overall figures for the cemeteries as a whole. There does not appear to have been any significant differences in the individuals who chose to be buried in this fashion. Although there has been no significant anthropological study on these two sites, the tombs were often reused for secondary inhumations, and where this happens, the resultant groupings are such that the tombs may well represent family burials. In this way, these may fulfil a similar function to the mausolea at Poundbury.



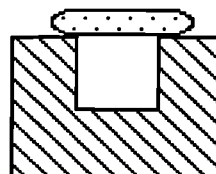
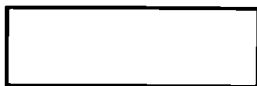
Type 1: Walls made of mortared stone. Covered with stone slabs.



Type 2: Walls and cover of stone slabs.



Type 3: Brick built tomb with stone slab covering.



Type 4: Simple earth grave covered with stone blocks

Ossuaries and symbolic graves.

One grave at Nativau contained the jumbled remains of four adult individuals and was interpreted by the excavator as an ossuary. No grave goods were placed with the dead. The reports on the cemeteries at Lankhills and Keszthely-Dobogo suggest that there are symbolic graves from the two sites. The cenotaph at Lankhills consists of a deep pit, surrounded by a ditched enclosure, containing an adult sized coffin along with five coins, but the only skeletal remains found *in situ* were those of a dog, possibly placed on the lid of the coffin (Clarke. 1979, p83). The coins date the grave to period 6. The interpretation of this grave is discussed in the section on religion below. At Keszthely-Dobogo, graves 11, 26, 66, 67 and 79 are all described as symbolic graves. None of these contain any evidence for a body, and none of them contain any grave goods. It is difficult to comment on such a dearth of evidence. The bone preservation on the site is generally reasonably good, which presumably explains why these were interpreted as symbolic graves, but assigning a purely symbolic role to these graves without any positive evidence is tenuous.

Amphora burials.

Amphora burials are confined solely to the South of France (see Fig. 7). Here, the dead are placed within the body of an amphora, which has often been modified for this purpose. Usually the amphorae are of North African origin, and the burials are always of infants or children. In none of these graves was there any provision of grave goods other than the amphora. These cannot be closely dated but amphorae at Mas-de-Garric and Costebelle are roughly dated to the fourth and fifth centuries AD.

Plaster burials.

Poundbury, Alington Avenue and West Tenter St. are the only sites studied where plaster burials are present. The body appears to have been placed in its container (either a wooden coffin, a lead lined coffin or a sarcophagus) and plaster or gypsum was then poured around the body. This would seem to have been done with the aim of

preserving the body. None of these was dated particularly well, although their position in all three cemeteries suggests a fourth century date.

Ditched enclosures.

These occur at Poundbury and Lankhills, although in slightly differing forms. These differ from the mausolea in that they only contain a single burial each, and there is no evidence for a superstructure over the grave.

Wooden biers.

The use of wooden biers upon which to lay the dead at burial is only well documented at Frenouville. The lead coffin at Cenon may also have been laid on a bier, but this is uncertain. Eleven of the graves at Frenouville seem to have contained evidence for the use of these stretchers. None could be particularly well dated, although a number of them contained grave goods of fourth century date. These were identified by the stains they left behind in the soil, and it may be that this practice has gone unnoticed on other sites where these stains are less archaeologically visible. Where the dead have been sexed, the use of stretchers seems to have been reserved for men.

Anthropology.

Any comparison of the anthropology from such a number of sites is fraught with huge problems. Not all of the bone will be equally well preserved and rarely are the techniques used for the ageing and sexing of the bodies the same (indeed the criteria used are usually not mentioned), or even necessarily accurate. Even where an accurate anthropological study is carried out, the emphasis is generally placed on measurements compared with the physical ideals of sexual dimorphism, and individuals of unusual stature may be wrongly identified.

However, despite these problems, it would be wrong to ignore the study of the burial populations concerned. The table below shows the percentages for the age groups from all of the sites. Because of the differences in the estimated ages of the dead, they

have been grouped according to whether they are adult(20y +), a juvenile (10-20y) or a child (0-10y).

The general picture that emerges is one of adults making up roughly 60% to 80% of the burials, with the remaining 20% to 40% made up of children and adolescents. Often the proportion of children is higher than that of adolescents, as expected. The exceptions to this are West Tenter St, Oudenburg and St Martin-de-Fontenay. In all of these cases, children appear to be under-represented in the burials. This is unlikely to be due to any variation in the anthropological study, as the stature of children at this age makes them easier to identify. Therefore it seems likely that either the smaller, weaker bones of the children have not survived as well on these sites or that there is an unwillingness to bury children in these cemeteries.

Where the adults are more closely aged, the few cemeteries generally show two main peaks of death. The main peak of death appears to be of burials aged between 20 and 30. The one site not to have a peak of burials of this age is Tokod, where there are no burials in this group. Instead, the main peak of burials at Tokod is of burials aged between 40 and 50 years, which is generally the age group of the second main peak of death in adulthood.

The similarity in the general proportions of individuals buried is interesting. The similar proportions of children, juveniles and adults on many of the sites studied suggest that they represent burials of similar proportions of the burial population, although they may not contain a complete sample of this population.

Site	Child	Juvenile	Adult
Poundbury	27%	6%	67%
Alington Avenue	21%	8%	71%
Lankhills	29%	4%	67%
West Tenter St	7%	18%	75%
Oudenburg	8%	13%	79%
La Rue Perdue	19%	9%	72%
Nibas	0	0	100%
St Martin-de-Font.	9%	14%	77%
Marteville	100%	0	0
Barisis-aux-Bois	20%	0	80%

Cenon	100%	0	0
St Jean de Conques	0	0	100%
Villeneuve-les-Bez.	0	0	100%
Fontlongue	0	0	100%
Mas de Garric	50%	0	50%
Les Trentieres	17%	0	63%
Ville-sur-Retourne	29%	6%	65%
Font-du-Buis	42%	8%	50%
Nativau	8%	42%	50%
La Guerine	50%	0	50%
Costebelle	15%	5%	80%
La Calade	33%	0	67%
Krefeld-Gellep	12%	?	?88%
Neuberg an der D.	20%	4%	74%
Neuberg	0	0	100%
Burgheim	50%	0	50%
Goggingen	17%	17%	66%
Tokod	23%	10%	67%
Keszthely-Dobogo	?29%	?	?71%
Intercisa	?30%	?	?70%
Somogyszil	29%	2%	69%

The sexing of skeletons poses as many problems as the ageing, and as with the ageing, any conclusions drawn from the comparisons here are tentative. For the majority of the sites, the proportion of unsexed graves is higher than those of the male or female graves (see the table below). As a consequence of this, any differences in the proportion of sexed individuals must be viewed with caution. The only site where there are more positively identified members of one sex than there are of the opposite sex and unsexed individuals together is Neuberg-an-der-Donau. Here, males make up 52% of the population. The site itself is an unusual one, in that it may have served a garrison, and also has evidence for burials of differing ethnic groups. A number of the sites show higher proportions of one sex - generally male - which may be the result of the methods of sexing the dead rather than a reflection of sexual imbalance in the burial population.

Site	Unsexed	Male	Female
Poundbury	41%	30%	31%
Alington Avenue	38%	41%	21%
Lankhills	57%	26%	17%

West Tenter St.	34%	44%	22%
Oudenburg	87%	5%	8%
La Rue Perdue	57%	22%	21%
Nouvion	30%	30%	40%
St Martin de Font.	39%	35%	26%
Frenouville	44%	27%	29%
Barisis-aux-Bois	20%	60%	20%
Ville-sur-Retourne	40%	36%	24%
Mas de Garric	50%	0%	50%
Font-du-Buis	75%	8%	17%
Nativau	30%	30%	40%
La Guerine	67%	0%	33%
Costebelle	38%	29%	33%
La Calade	33%	0%	67%
Burgheim	0%	100%	0%
Goggingen	46%	21%	33%
Augsburg Fr. 15	0%	50%	50%
Tokod	28%	40%	32%
Keszthely-Dobogo	29%	42%	29%
Intercisa	57%	15%	28%
Somogyszil	36%	22%	42%

Body and arm position.

The most common body position on the sites studied is the extended position. This clearly forms the standard position for the inhumations of the later Roman Empire, making up more than 80% of burials on all of the sites studied, and is the only body position in the majority of sites.

Flexed inhumations are generally laid on their back, with their legs lightly bent. The distribution of these (see Fig. 8) seems to suggest that, along with cremations, crouched and prone inhumations, these are a minority rite with no geographical coherence to their distribution. On the sites themselves, flexed burials would appear to have no distinguishing characteristics in terms of their burial rite. This is also true of the 'crouched' burials, where the body was laid on its side, with the position of the legs generally tightly contracted in front of the chest. These were found at Lankhills, Neuberg, Keszthely-Dobogo, and Somogyszil., although the numbers concerned on any of the sites are too small to make serious analysis useful (see Fig. 9). At Lankhills, there

are a fair number of these graves, which seem to become increasingly popular after AD 370 in 'area O' (Clarke, 1979, p 138 -40), along with prone burials (see below).

The practice of the decapitation of the dead is unusual, and occurs in graves at Poundbury, Lankhills, Furfooz, La Brèche and Neuberg-an-der-Donau (Fig. 10). Here, the head of the deceased is usually removed by the use of a horizontal or diagonal cut from front to back between two of the vertebrae (the third and fourth neck vertebrae at Lankhills and the first thoracic vertebra at Poundbury), and is often placed on or near the legs of the deceased. This practice is most common on the British sites. The example at La Breche is somewhat spurious, as the head placed between the knees of the deceased is not that of the individual buried, but belongs to another individual. There is no real evidence for an incision, and this burial must be seen as a dubious identification. However, the examples at Neuberg-an-der-Donau and Furfooz are more convincing, with the skull being removed and placed between the knees.

Prone burials were found in small numbers on sites throughout the area of study (see Fig. 11). At Lankhills, the prone burials are similar to the 'crouched burials' in that both seem to increase in popularity after AD 370, and are common in 'area O'. Usually these were single inhumations, although the prone burial in grave 335 was placed directly above an extended inhumation. By and large these burials are not well furnished, with the exception of the only prone burial at Gerulate.

The predominant arm positions on the sites are shown in the table below. It is acknowledged that the arm position of the dead may have changed during the deposition of the coffin or body within the grave, but it is clear that there appear to have been differences in the popularity of the different types of arm position. The sites in the bold type are those where there were enough arm positions recorded for the overall figures to be fairly representative. Arm positions 1 and 4 are the most popular, with the latter being the most popular of all. Even on the sites where arm position 1 is the most common, there is usually a good percentage of graves with arm position 4, making it clearly the most common form. There is no geographical coherence to the distribution of the different arm positions.

	<i>Arm 1</i>	<i>Arm 2</i>	<i>Arm 3</i>	<i>Arm 4</i>	<i>Arm 5</i>	<i>Arm 6</i>	<i>Arm 7</i>
30-40%	Poundbury, Lankhills, Neuberg-a- d-Donau, Keszthely- Dobogo			Alington Avenue, West Tenter St Oudenburg, La Rue Perdue			Somogysz.
40-50%	St Martin de F.			Intercisa Tokod			
50-60%				Augsburg Fr17 Gerulate			
60% +	Furfooz	Nibas	La Guerine	Noyelles-s-M. St Jean-de-C. La Breche Marteville Nouvion Ville-s- Retourne	Tournai (StQ)		

Clearly the most common arm positions involve laying the arms by the side of the deceased or resting them lightly on the pelvis or lower limbs. There appears to be little correlation between the arm position of the deceased and their age and sex.

Unfurnished graves.

The percentages of unfurnished graves from the sites studied are shown in the table below. The levels of unfurnished graves are very important in the study of a site as they give a clear idea of the popularity of grave goods and the relative importance of grave furnishing within a cemetery.

Site	% Unfurn.	Site	% Unfurn.	Site	% Unfurn.
1	91.92	16	31.34	31	0
2	51.52	17	44.44	32	61.54
3	36.8	18	0	33	65.38
4	73.9	19	0	34	0
5	36.57	20	50	35	50
6	39.11	21	33.33	36	25

7	0	22	78.57	37	0
8	12	23	28.57	38	39.29
9	41.03	24	80	39	50
10	40.54	25	0	40	0
11	0	26	100	41	57.38
12	0	27	0	42	13.71
13	0	28	32.2	43	20.27
14	40	29	50	44	61.67
15	0	30	66.67	45	25.67

The levels of unfurnished graves on the sites varies considerably - of the larger sites, Poundbury has by far the highest percentage of unfurnished graves. However, there are others amongst this group where it is more common for a grave to be furnished than unfurnished - notably Alington Avenue, West Tenter St, Krefeld-Gellep, Neuberg an der Donau, Tokod and Intercisa, although the figure for Intercisa may well be slightly misleading, as a number of the graves seem to have been robbed in antiquity. Fig 12 shows the distribution of sites where more than half of the burials are unfurnished. When looking at the grave goods from these sites, we must be aware that we are talking about minority rites. Interestingly, Lankhills is the only British site studied where less than half of the graves were unfurnished. The levels of furnishing considered below suggest that Lankhills differs in furnishing from the other British sites.

Both Poundbury and Krefeld Gellep show peaks of unfurnished graves aligned west-east. At Poundbury, this has been used to support the suggestion that these burials may represent Christian burials. This will be discussed further below.

Furnished graves.

The analysis of furnished graves within chapter 2 above was concerned with the comparison of furnishing levels within graves, thus enabling the identification of both the overall range of furnishing types on a site and of graves which do not fit into the norm, and which may not belong to the same burial tradition. The aim of the comparison here is to examine the similarities and differences in these furnishing levels

in conjunction with any particular practices or grave goods which show regional grouping.

a. Pottery.

Pottery vessels play an important part in the furnishing of the sites studied. The provision of pottery vessels of any form within a grave represents the conscious deposition of functional goods, potentially for use in the afterlife or as containers of food offerings either for a deity or the deceased. Because pottery vessels are unlikely to be particularly valuable objects, it would seem unlikely that their use as grave goods is linked to the wealth of the deceased - where there are unusually large numbers of vessels in a grave, it is possible that the numbers of vessels are a statement of wealth, although the vessels themselves are unlikely to be particularly valuable. Such a situation may be the result of social stress or competition within a burial population.

Pottery jugs or flagons appear to be the most common form of pottery found on these sites, although jars, dishes, beakers and bowls are also common forms. The distribution of these forms seems fairly universal, although the fabric and the forms obviously vary from site to site. However, the overall levels of furnishing vary from site to site. The less common forms provide more scope for a study of geographical diversity. Glazed vessels are confined almost exclusively to Hungary, with most of the sites from Hungary containing glazed jugs, and more rarely beakers, bowls and amphorae (Fig. 13).

The main exception to this rule is Krefeld-Gellep, where there are significant levels of Hungarian style pottery found. The group includes glazed jugs, amphorae and beakers, and these were interpreted by the excavator as the work of an itinerant Hungarian potter, rather than an intrusive group. The analysis (in chapter 2 above) suggests that the graves containing glazed vessels are indistinguishable from the range of furnishing perceived to represent the norm for the cemetery. This does not preclude

the possibility of these burials being intrusive in origin, merely that they do not deviate sufficiently in their rite for it to show.

Intrusive pottery vessels have been used to identify intrusive burials at Neuberg-an-der-Donau, where the pottery coincides with a sufficiently coherent and distinct rite. Because of the popularity of pottery vessels as grave goods, it is unlikely that there will be sufficient coherence in the positioning or numbers of vessels alone to enable the identification of intrusive groups without the presence of potentially intrusive vessels or through co-occurrences with other grave goods.

However, in view of the ubiquitous nature of Roman pottery, individual vessel forms are unlikely to travel considerable distances within the empire, unless there are particular cultural or economic reasons for them to do so. The Germanic pottery vessels at Neuberg-an-der-Donau appear likely to have originated from outside the Empire, and are likely to represent cultural artefacts. The glazed vessels at Krefeld-Gellep may represent a similar pattern, but the lack of other characteristically Hungarian rites make this seem unlikely. Instead, it may be that the glazed vessels at Krefeld are introduced to the area by an army unit having moved from Hungary.

b. Personal articles.

The provision of personal artefacts in a grave may be either accidental or deliberate inclusions. The clothed burial of the dead may well involve the inclusion of functional items such as brooches, leather shoes (with hobnails), pins and belts. Where these functional articles are unworn, then it is likely that their deliberate inclusion in a grave results represents a different rite. In addition to these two groups, there is a third grouping, of apparently 'non-functional' personal articles. These include items of 'jewellery', such as bracelets, pendants, necklaces, ear-rings and finger rings. These may be purely decorative, but may also be markers of social status or wealth. This is invariably difficult to prove, although one possible example is discussed below.

With personal articles, there is greater scope for variation both of types and positions of personal articles. There was no potential for a detailed study of individual

items in order to assess their potential origins, so this study must rely on what work has been done by others, and on the positions of these articles in the graves. A number of different grave goods and rites have been identified as of interest.

Crossbow brooches provide us with an insight into the focus of the late Roman administration, if we accept that these were items of rank, denoting men who held authority within the empire. The incidences of these brooches is shown in Fig. 14. The concentration of crossbow brooches appears to focus on the military and urban sites rather than the rural (with Marteville the only real exception to this). With few exceptions, these are buried with adult males. One of the burials of children from Keszthely-Dobogo was buried with a worn crossbow brooch, but this is an exception. Generally these are worn on either the right or left shoulder, although on many of the sites studied, a small minority are unworn.

Buckles and belt fittings seem to show a similar distribution to the crossbow brooches (Figs. 15 & 16). They seem to be scarce on rural sites, especially the belt fittings, which may be an indicator of the status of an individual. These belt sets are very rarely worn, even when buried in conjunction with worn personal articles.

Bracelets are common grave goods, and are most popular in Hungary and Germany, with the percentages for the British and French sites being lower generally. In Hungary, they are generally worn, and often co-occur with worn necklaces, ear-rings and finger rings. The practice of the majority of bracelets in a grave being worn on the left arm is most common in Hungary, although a number also occur elsewhere (see Fig. 17). These graves always form a minority of the graves to contain worn bracelets, and are generally burials of young girls. It is possible that these may be indicative of unmarried or un-betrothed girls or women.

c. Equipment.

Items of equipment are the most varied of the groups of grave goods studied. This is largely due to the huge variety of potential items within this group. Rarely do items of equipment form coherent patterns within cemeteries. Knives are the most

common items buried, along with spindle whorls and, occasionally, bone combs. Wooden boxes or '*scrinia*' are less common. It is difficult to see much coherence in the patterns of furnishing beyond the observation that items of equipment occur more frequently in Hungarian sites and at Krefeld-Gellep than anywhere else. The most interesting items of equipment are the weapons buried on a number of the sites studied (for the purposes of this study, knives are not classed as weapons). The distribution of these sites can be seen in Fig. 18. The weaponry concerned generally consists of axes, arrowheads and spears. Where these could be dated, most date to the second half of the fourth centuries. The exception to these are the few graves containing weaponry at Krefeld-Gellep dating to the late third and early fourth centuries AD.

d. Animal remains.

The use of animal remains as offerings seems to be fairly widespread in Britain, France and some of the German sites (see Fig. 19). Chickens are the most popular deposition., but other food animals such as pig, cow and sheep/goat are fairly well represented on a number of sites. The majority of animal remains would seem to be of food species, and can probably be interpreted as offerings of food either for the gods or for the deceased in the afterlife. The two species that do not really seem to fit these two categories are the horse and dog remains found on a number of sites. These are potential sources of food, but could also represent the burial of pets, or even an indication of status. The presence of the different animal remains can be seen in the table below.

Site	Pig	Chickn	Egg	Cow	Goose	Horse	Sheep	Antler	Fish	Oyster	Dog
1		x		x			x				x
2		x					x		x		x
3		x					x				x
4		x									
5	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x
6	x	x		x	x						
9		x					x		x		
10		x									
12										x	
13											x

16	x	x	x			x				x	
25			x								
27			x								
32						x				x	
33											x
36		x									
39		x									

In addition to the species listed here, there were a number of animal remains from Ville-sur-Retourne, but which are not included here as their presence is unlikely to have been intentional. One of the graves on the site contained the remains of a snake, a frog and rodent bones. These were interpreted by the excavator as the remains of a pet snake and its prey species. However, it would seem more likely that the grave had been open for some time before the burial, and that the animals represented unlucky members of the local wildlife population, which had succumbed to the perils of a large, straight-sided open pit.

e. Coins.

Coins are an important part of grave furnishing on the majority of the sites studied, and their number, type and position can give us important clues as to how the coins were viewed as part of the burial process. Bronze coinage was in widespread use throughout the third and fourth centuries AD, and their deposition in relatively large numbers does not necessarily represent a major financial loss on behalf of the depositors. The percentages of graves containing coins differs considerably from site to site, with a number of the larger sites such as Oudenburg, Ville-sur-Retourne, Keszthely-Dobogo, Somogyszil and Gerulate having a high percentage of graves containing coins. The number of coins in the graves also fluctuates considerably

f. Glass, metal and stone beakers.

Glassware and other vessels form a useful group of grave goods. The former have been used to assess social status of individuals (Randsbourg and Van Lith, 1979). The distribution of glass vessels is widespread, with beakers and flasks common on many sites (glass bowls are less common, and it may well be that it is these that provide a better indication of social class). The use of glass, metal and stone vessels does not seem to influence the provision of pottery vessels in a grave. As with the pottery, the use of glassware is so widespread that the chances of recognising these as forming part of an intrusive group must rely on unusual positioning or other factors.

Pewter vessels are rare, and usually take the form of bowls and dishes. They appear as grave goods at Lankhills and Oudenburg. Metal vessels can be more diverse in their forms, although dishes and bowls are again common. The category covers a range of vessels, and the diverse distribution is therefore not surprising. Stone beakers are useful because they form a coherent group in Germany (see Fig. 20). They do not occur in Hungary or at Krefeld-Gellep, which helps with the argument that the glazed vessels at the latter are out of place (none of the German sites seem to have had them) in that these forms of beakers, which are closer to Krefeld-Gellep geographically, do not make it as far as the glazed ones do.

Chapter 4. Discussion.

Theoretical approaches to burial practices and their relevance to late Roman burials.

The interpretation of the physical and material remains of human mortuary practices has developed considerably over much of the last thirty years. Much of this work has been concentrated on the interpretation of these remains as a reflection of social and economic factors. Thus, the 'social persona' of the individual has been argued to be reflected in the grave goods placed in the grave and in the treatment of the body. The main thrust of this work was influenced by anthropological analysis of burial rites. The best expositions of this theory are Binford (1972) and Brown (1971), with Chapman, Randsborg and Kinnes (1981) providing an excellent synthesis of this 'processual' mortuary theory. Building on this, O'Shea (1984) attempted to develop a general theory of mortuary practice that could be used to identify common patterns in specific examples - with reference to archaeological remains and ethnographic data. O'Shea's work represents perhaps the most comprehensive exposition of this approach and a fuller discussion of his work on social distinction and ethnic variation will be undertaken below.

Whilst for some time research has focused on the significance of mortuary ritual in both the prehistoric and medieval periods, it is only relatively recently that Roman burial practice has been subject to rigorous analysis. Interpretation of mortuary practices in the prehistoric period has flourished, with, in British studies, analysis of burial rites providing an insight into social and symbolic patterns from early prehistory - such as Barrett (1988 and 1990) and Bradley (1988) - through to the immediate pre-Roman Iron Age - Haselgrove (1982 and 1984), Millett (1993) and Fitzpatrick (1997).

From the early 1980's onwards, there was a reaction against such 'processual' approaches, dominated largely by Ian Hodder's work (1982, 1982b and 1992). Although these 'post-processual' theoretical approaches provoked much subsequent debate and

gained much widespread acceptance, there was no widespread application of such work to burial practices, as was the case with earlier approaches. Amongst the few 'post-processual' studies of mortuary rituals, the most prominent have focussed on the prehistoric period (Thomas 1991, Izoguchi 1992, Parker Pearson 1993 and Fitzpatrick 1997).

Recent applications of theoretically oriented analysis to mortuary rituals in the Roman period have generally concentrated on the examination of the influence of the Roman Empire on burial rites immediately prior to and subsequent to the conquest of these areas and a more detailed discussion of these can be found below.

However, it is argued here that these studies have limited relevance to this thesis. Whilst it is acknowledged that these approaches have proved appropriate for the early Roman period, they have a number of limitations when applied to a late Roman context. The analysis of burial rites over a wider area of study has indicated that whilst social interpretations of changes in burial practice may be viable for individual cemeteries and their associated settlements, they are inappropriate to the wider context. The exception to this is Haslegrove's work (1982), which is based on core-periphery theory, and therefore has some significance towards wider ranging study. This study has shown that there is disparity between levels of furnishing in differing provinces of the Empire in the late Roman period. Whilst it is accepted here that these provinces represent the extremities of the western Empire, there is a marked disparity between the general levels of furnishing in Britain, northern France and Belgium in the west and the eastern provinces such as Pannonia. Social constraints and pressures within these areas are unlikely to have been identical, and therefore are likely to have produced differing burial rites and practices. However, this study has shown that in a number of the cemeteries studied, there is a shift towards unfurnished burial that suggests a more complex set of stimuli than a limited number of social or economic factors. The number and range of variables involved in this study mean that the use of cemetery data from a wide range of sites that differ significantly in size, location, and the likely composition of the burial population makes a complex theoretical or thematic approach impossible. Binford

(1972) and O'Shea (1984) have already identified a number of problems encountered when dealing with data from the same region and with burial populations of similar composition in dealing with far less disparate entities than are considered here. Therefore the theoretical position was, as far as possible, to restrict any theoretical approaches to the interpretation of any variability noted in burial practice (where appropriate) and to be as objective as possible when dealing with the data.

Instead, the aim of this study was to examine the idea forwarded by Clarke (1979) that the detailed analysis of a cemetery could examine burial rites within a chronological framework. Clarke, through the identification of a range of rites representing the norm for a cemetery, identify unusual groups which did not fit comfortably with his identified 'norm' for the cemetery. All of this was achieved in Clarke's study of burial at Lankhills, where two groups of unusual burials were recognised. The first group of burials was characterised by a number of features, foremost amongst which were the provision of vessels placed by the right foot and worn personal articles. The second group consisted of a number of graves which, although they showed little internal consistency, all differed from the norm and contained aspects of their rite that Clarke regarded as intrusive (Clarke, 1979, 377 & 389-400).

Much of Clarke's study was concerned with a detailed analysis of every aspect of the burial rite, in conjunction with the close dating of the cemetery through a combination of dated grave goods and application of these dates within a detailed stratigraphic sequence (with numbers of intercutting graves and a series of boundary features suggesting that the cemetery spread in an easterly direction). The analysis was made possible by a combination of different factors. The graves within the cemetery were relatively well defined, having been cut into the chalk (and although graves did intercut, they generally only overlapped slightly). The excavation and recording of the burials was of a high standard, and, equally important, bone preservation was good and a majority of the burials were furnished. The study of these grave goods and their position relative to the body enabled the identification of the potentially intrusive groups.

Having completed the analysis, Clarke initially compared the site to a number of Romano-British cemeteries in order to establish whether Lankhills was typical of British rites as a whole. In general, most of the rites identified by Clarke could be paralleled elsewhere in Britain. The areas where Lankhills differed were in the high proportions of furnished graves from the site (Clarke, 1979, 356-7) and in the coherence of graves buried with worn personal articles. Although a number of graves in the sites used for comparison did contain worn personal articles, these were also viewed as potentially intrusive.

Clarke then looked for parallels for his unusual rites in European cemeteries. In doing this, he scanned a number of excavation reports search of a rite that followed a similar trend. Parallels could be found for similar graves in Hungary and southern Bavaria, but the closest match for the group are Sarmatian burials, which show similar rite in terms of pottery positioning and worn personal articles, as well as in the presence of cornelian beads (Clarke, 1979, 385-6).

There are a number of problems with this approach. First, Clarke's analysis places greater emphasis on the form and position of certain grave goods than others do, whilst Baldwin (1985, 94) and Philpott (1991, 234) have indicated that there is less coherence to this group of burials than is suggested in the Lankhills report. Certainly, an analysis of the male graves shows that a number of the personal items placed in the graves are unworn - especially the belt buckles in graves 106, 234, 322, 366 and 426, and the crossbow brooch in grave 322 (Clarke, 1979, Fig 61). Clarke, in considering the positioning of the latter suggests that the grave may have been rifled (Clarke 1979, 67), whilst later excluding graves from Oudenburg and Krefeld-Gellep showing similar burial rites on the grounds that vessels are slightly more common, belt buckles are often unworn and that these graves are atypical (Clarke, 1979, 380). This is clearly a weak argument - having identified crossbow brooches previously as items of high status, it should not be suprising that they are rare amongst the sites he examined. These graves are examined further below.

The group of intrusive female burials also show less internal coherence to their rite than Clarke suggests. A number of the graves have more worn bracelets on the left arm than the right, but not all. Having said this, there is strong evidence for the burial of necklaces of beads in the neck region, along with the use of hairpins in a number of other graves. These graves do not show the uniformity of positioning of vessels that the male graves display. Again Clarke indicated fairly close parallels existed within the Empire (1979, 383), and suggested that the bracelet forms and cornelian beads indicated a Sarmatian origin for these burials. The discussion on ethnicity below examines these claims in greater detail.

The second group of graves consists of unusual graves with apparently 'Anglo-Saxon' affinities (Clarke, 1979, 398). In each of these cases, as with the first group, Clarke was concerned with looking for exact parallels for the graves, and in doing so, passed over a number of similar graves from late Roman cemeteries within the Empire. Clearly the inherent differences in status, wealth and belief of a normal burial population militate against such coherence of any rite within a single cemetery, let alone within a region.

Therefore, it was decided that this study should focus equally upon the differing aspects of burial practice in order to establish overall patterns against which it may be possible to identify ranges of burial rites that differ from the norm. There can be little doubt that all of the graves highlighted by Clarke are unusual within Lankhills, but their interpretation seems uncertain in the light of this study (see below).

The advantage of such a regional approach is that it provides an equally balanced approach to the burial rites on the sites studied. This enables the identification of both 'normal' and unusual rites on these sites and makes any identification of the origin of potentially intrusive rites more reliable, in that the popularity of a particular rite within different sites will have been established. In this way, it is also possible to get a general overview of the majority rites practised within different areas of the empire.

Inevitably there are a number of problems with such an analysis, and these should be taken into account whilst examining the conclusions of this study. First, the

analysis cannot claim to be a complete coverage of burial rite within the study area. The sites selected often represent only a small proportion of late Roman burials published from an area and are selected according to the criteria set out in chapter 1 above. In addition to this, there are areas within the study area where there are no burials examined, due to a lack of published cemeteries of a suitable size or to inadequate information on the graves excavated.

It is also an inevitable consequence of the parameters of the study that the analysis is less detailed than that undertaken by Clarke (1979). A number of the cemeteries studied here are larger than the cemetery of Lankhills, the detailed analysis of which was the basis of a thesis in itself. Inevitably, therefore, compromises had to be made in the analysis. These areas of compromise generally concern detailed analysis of the graves and grave goods. The detailed analysis of each item buried in these cemeteries is beyond the scope of this study, therefore the information used here is that published in the individual reports. The result of this is that there may be slight discrepancies in the description or identification of similar items from different sites. It does, however, highlight the need for detailed analyses of the form, origin and use of these items within burial contexts. Of particular importance amongst these are the origins of these grave goods, with the discussion on 'ethnicity' below highlighting the importance of intrusive grave goods in identifying different ethnic groups. Above all, it should be stressed that the conclusions drawn here are based on the evidence of the sites studied, and are intended to act as pointers for further discussion and study.

In the light of this, five aspects of burial rite have been selected for detailed discussion. These cover i) regionality of rite, ii) the influence of religion on burial rites, iii) the presence of potentially military burials on a number of sites, iv) the relationship between the wealth or status of an individual and v) the identification of different ethnic groups within the burial record. Finally, the chapter will close with a short assessment of potential for further development of this study and the future direction of cemetery studies.

Discussion of these will focus on an interpretation of the evidence from the sites themselves, combined with an overall view and points arising for further debate. Within the context of this discussion, a number of issues will be raised which, whilst based on the evidence of the analysis, are purely personal interpretations or suggestions. Many of these may be disproved by further study, and their main purpose is to stimulate further debate. Without a database covering the entire study area, it is impossible to be certain when looking for parallels in burial rites, but here an attempt is made using the data from the sites studied.

Regionality in late Roman burial.

Burial in the late Roman period shows marked similarity in many of the aspects studied in this analysis. Inhumation burial is clearly the norm, with cremation burials forming a small minority on a number of sites throughout the Empire. The identification of these cremation burials as Germanic in origin (Myres cited in Gillam, 1979, 107) must be viewed as dubious in the light both of subsequent study (Clarke, 1979, 351, Philpott, 1991, 51), and widespread distribution of cremation burials amongst the sites studied. The evidence appears to indicate that the fourth century cremation burials represent a continuation of a rite that dominated the disposal of the dead during the early Empire (see Jones, 1983 for a detailed study of the burial practices of the early Empire). There are a number of sites amongst those studied which appear to show continuity from cremation burial to inhumation, with the change appearing to occur in the second half of the third century.

The form of these cremation burials generally differs little from those of the early empire. However, it is often difficult to establish the exact proportion of cremation burials from these sites as a few sites show evidence for cremation burials being disturbed by inhumations, and this cannot be discounted on any site where the two occur. It is also possible that only a proportion of the total number of individuals

cremated were never buried. None of the cremation burials studied was able to provide significant anthropological data with which to assess whether the cremation burials represent a particular proportion of a burial population. However, with the exception of neonates and infants, there are no obvious gaps in the anthropological data for the inhumations and it seems reasonable to assume that the decision to cremate remains is not related to any particular sector of the population.

Amongst the inhumations studied, certain aspects of the rite are widespread across the Empire, whilst regional differences can be identified within other aspects. Common features can be identified in the anthropology of the dead, the position of the body and arms and the general form of the grave.

Where the age and sex of the majority of the burial population is adequately recorded, the general picture appears to be similar. The proportions of adults to children ranges from 65%:35% to 80%:20%. It seems likely that in many, if not in all of the sites studied, infants and neonates are under-represented in burial. This may in some cases be the result of poor preservation of the small bones, disturbance by larger inhumations or even to a variety of taphonomic factors (c.f. Farwell & Molleson, 1993, 16). However, it is also likely that there was a degree of discrimination against the burial of infants or neonates within cemeteries, possibly linked to the acceptance of an individual within the community. If this latter is indeed the case, this may be linked with the recognition of a child by the father rather than the age of the individual, as a number of cemeteries contain very young individuals. Certainly a number of examples of infant cemeteries are recorded from Britain, often associated with buildings (Philpott, 1991, 97-9, Scott 1992, 77-92, Farwell, 1993, 20, Struck 1993).

Amongst the burials studied, extended inhumation is clearly the norm, with only a minority of burials flexed, crouched or prone. Arm position varies little across the area of study, with the majority of recorded positions showing the arms laid straight alongside the body or with one or both arms lightly flexed so the hand rests on the pelvis or waist.

In general terms, the form of the inhumations is similar, with the dead being placed in a rectangular or roughly rectangular grave, often with some form of protection for the body. There are regional patterns evident in the exact form taken by this protection. By and large, the furnishing of graves is dominated by the provision of pottery vessels and personal articles, with items of equipment, animal remains, coins and other vessels are rare.

The four British sites examined show a number of similarities, which combine to suggest a reasonable coherence of regional rite. There is evidence from all four sites for the alignment of graves according to extant landscape features, such as roads and boundary ditches. The burials at West Tenter Street, Alington Avenue and the periphery cemeteries at Lankhills are generally aligned along several different features, whilst both the main cemetery at Lankhills and the main cemetery at Poundbury both show a general uniformity of alignment. Cremation burials form a small proportion of burials from three of these sites, with West Tenter St the exception. All four of the sites show a majority of burials in wooden coffins, with children less likely to be buried in coffins on three of these sites (West Tenter St is the only exception). Plaster burials form a minority of burials on three of the four sites studied, with Lankhills being the exception. Both Lankhills and Poundbury contain single burials within ditched enclosures. Lead coffins were found on two of the sites.

West Tenter St is the only one of the sites studied which does not fit the overall pattern identified above, with a higher proportion of juveniles buried than infants and children. This suggests that there is likely to be a degree of discrimination against individuals in this age group. It has already been established in Chapter 3 that Lankhills contains an unusually high percentage of furnished graves amongst the British sites studied (and also amongst the sites studied by Clarke (1979, 356-7)). Pottery and personal articles are common as grave goods, with smaller proportions of the other forms. The main exception to this rule are the few furnished burials in the main cemetery at Lankhills, which contain high proportions of coins and items of equipment,

notably combs. Clearly, amongst the British sites studied, both Lankhills and the main cemetery at Poundbury contain unusual elements of rite.

Amongst the sites of Northern France, Belgium and Northern Germany, there is also a similar coherence of rite. Again, coffined burials make up more than half of the burials on many of the sites studied. The main exceptions to this are Frenouville and Krefeld-Gellep: a number of the other sites are small and therefore less reliable statistically. This also influences the comparative anthropology. Few of these sites have good anthropological studies, but of those that do, two (Oudenburg and St Martin-de-Fontenay) show a similar pattern to West Tenter St, with more juveniles buried than infants and children, whilst the remainder follow the more common pattern.

Of the larger sites studied (and therefore those with the more reliable figures), both Krefeld-Gellep and Oudenburg show little difference between adults and children in the provision of a coffin, whilst at Ville-sur-Retourne, the opposite is the case, with children less commonly provided with coffins. Small numbers of tile graves are also recorded at Krefeld-Gellep and Ville-sur-Retourne.

The majority of graves from the larger sites studied are furnished, with once again Krefeld-Gellep the exception, a site whose distinctive characteristics will be discussed further below. The furnished graves generally follow the established norm, with few notable exceptions. This obviously covers a wide array of individual grave goods, including many that will be discussed in discussions on status, ethnicity and the military below.

The sites clustered together in the South of France are generally small, and rarely contain sufficient variation to enable identification of different rites on individual sites. However, they show a number of similarities when viewed as a group. There is little or no evidence regarding the selection of alignments for graves. However these graves show a number of similar grave forms. Both tile graves and amphora burials are present on many of the sites studied. The latter are confined almost exclusively to the unfurnished burials of children and infants. This is presumably related to the distribution of the North African amphorae used in the burials, which obviously provided a simple

container for the smaller bodies with little modification. Coffins do occur on some of the sites, but they are generally less common than tile graves.

There is rarely sufficient evidence with which to examine the age and sex of the burial population, and it is also difficult to assess the proportion of these graves which are unfurnished. However, the furnishing of these graves relies heavily on the provision of pottery vessels as grave goods. Personal articles are not common grave goods, and items of equipment, animal remains, coins and other vessels are rare.

The Southern German sites do not group together as closely as one might hope. This is due in part to the potentially intrusive graves on the largest of the sites studied (Neuberg-an-der-Donau). These sites show similar patterns of alignment, with the main peak of graves aligned with the head to the south-east, east, or north-east, with a secondary peak, where present, of graves dug on the same axis. This is almost certainly likely to be coincidence, as the sample is small. Coffined burials are rare on the sites studied, but none of the sites contain evidence of the tile graves or tombs popular in Hungary. Indeed, there appears to be little concern with protecting the body. Where there is evidence for the use of coffins, at Neuberg-an-der-Donau, they are more often adult burials than children.

Relatively high proportions of these burials are unfurnished, with these making up more than half of the burials on a number of sites, including Neuberg-an-der-Donau, where there is evidence of a decline in the popularity of furnishing over time, possibly linked to the change in alignment. Pottery appears to be less common in these graves. Indeed, much of the pottery from Neuberg is thought likely to be intrusive. However, personal articles are relatively common, and a small number of stone beakers are found on a number of these sites.

The Hungarian sites show little in the way of common alignments. As with the southern German group, there is apparently little widespread concern with the protection of the body at burial. On all of the sites studied, graves with such protection make up less than half of the burials, and if Intercisa is excluded, this figure falls to below 25%. The small number of these graves are dominated by tile lined graves, with smaller

proportions of tombs and occasionally wooden coffins. The proportions of unfurnished graves on these sites vary considerably. Three of the sites are well furnished, with all three containing fewer than 25% unfurnished graves. The high proportion of unfurnished graves at Intercisa may be due to the looting of many of the graves, although the high proportion of unfurnished graves at Tokod is apparently genuinely atypical. Where graves are furnished, the Hungarian burials are characterised by their diversity of furnishing. Pottery vessels are common, including glazed vessels typical of the region. Personal articles are also frequent inclusions, with the majority worn. There is also a greater diversity in the equipment, coins and other vessels in these graves.

In summary, it seems that one of the most reliable and common indicators of regionality are grave forms. These appear to show a degree of regional deviation, either in the geographical distribution of the less common individual forms or the different proportions of the more common forms. There also appears to be a general link between the levels of furnished graves and different regions. However, perhaps the best guide to regional burial practices is the presence of diagnostic grave goods in the burials of particular regions. Of these, the Hungarian rites stand out as the most distinctive, both in their grave goods and the way in which these are placed in the grave. Although other areas are likely to contain diagnostic individual grave goods, few will show such coherence of rite in conjunction with these.

Religion in the late Roman cemeteries studied.

The identification of religious practice within the analysis of any burial rite is fraught with difficulty, even where the burying society is monotheistic. Any number of factors are likely to influence the form of a burial (such as status, tradition and social stress), and religion is likely to be one of the less tangible of these. Perhaps as a consequence of this, there has been less emphasis placed on the identification and

discussion of religious belief in the burial record than on aspects such as the 'social persona' (c.f. Ucko, 1969).

Philpott (1991, 235) discussed the evidence from classical sources for the role of religion in Roman burial. This followed on from the work of Woodward (1977 and 1979), which suggested that there was little potential for the identification of religion through examination of the burial record except where these were accompanied by inscriptions. Philpott's study, however, suggested that broader changes in burial practice over time could be indicative of a number of motivational factors, of which one is likely to have been differing beliefs. One of the primary concerns with identifying religion from the burial record in the Roman period lies in the diversity of religious belief within the different provinces of the empire and an absence of a clear idea of how these beliefs are likely to have been reflected in the burial record. Macdonald's study of pagan religion and burial (1977) could only identify a small number of examples where there was associated evidence for religious belief in the burial record.

However, whilst it is clearly impossible to examine a burial or burial rite and truly understand the motivational forces that ultimately led to it taking the form it did, it is possible in a limited number of cases to identify certain aspects of burial rite which might have a religious bearing.

The first point we must concern ourselves with is the form taken by the burial of the dead. The majority of burials studied here are inhumation burials, which replaced cremation of the dead as the most popular visible rite (it is difficult within the parameters of this study to make a full assessment of any potentially 'invisible' rites). The apparent continuation of cremation burial as a minority rite suggests that a small proportion of the population were determined to retain the practice that had dominated the earlier Empire. Unfortunately, the destructive nature of cremation, along with the lack of adequate anthropological examination for any of these cremation burials, has made it impossible to establish whether these represent the continuity of this tradition amongst family groupings. It is possible that cremation burial is more closely linked to a particular religious rite, and that such a study would show no such evidence. It is

likely, given the difficulty in identifying particular family traits amongst inhumations (Salamon, 1980), that a similar study of cremation burials may never be feasible. There is little further than can be done to identify particular religious traits within the cremation burials.

The widespread change to inhumation burial in the second half of the third century may well reflect a change in attitude regarding the preservation of the body after death. Philpott (1991, 238) suggests that this may be linked in part to expectations of physical resurrection engendered by both pagan eastern and Christian beliefs. However, the shift to inhumation burials comes some time before the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire.

The change to inhumation occurs at a time in which the Empire itself was in economic turmoil, with both internal power struggles and external forces threatening the very existence of the Empire. It is also a time in which the army and provinces played an increasingly important part in the direction taken by the Empire. This change may represent a questioning of traditional values and beliefs brought about by the turmoil within the empire, possibly combined with the increasing influence of the religions mentioned above. It is difficult to imagine such a major and widespread change as representing simply a change in burial 'fashion', and the fact that the change appears to date to a similar time period within the sites studied suggests that this is both contemporary and widespread.

It is, however, unlikely that such a coherent change is the result of a single factor, and for it to achieve such widespread dominance must indicate a degree of acceptance by both centralised authority and the wider body of late Roman provincial society. It is certainly true that on the sites studied, inhumation was the dominant rite by the time that Diocletian restored a measure of stability to the Empire at the end of the third century. The role of belief and religion in such a change cannot be fully realised without contemporary documentation of the change, but such a change seems unlikely if it was contrary to the prevailing beliefs of the majority of the populace. Certainly the preservation of the body rather than its destruction may have been the main aim of the

change, and the reasons or belief systems associated with this were strong enough to convince all but the minority of the benefits of this change within the space of a single generation.

In a few areas within the Empire, cremation burial had never truly become the norm, with the indigenous population continuing with the tradition of inhumation burials. This is certainly the case of the 'Durotrigan' burials of south western England. However, there is some evidence to suggest that the inhumation rite in this area developed slightly to conform better to the characteristics of the new inhumation rite, notably in the positions of the body (with extended inhumation becoming common in place of flexed and crouched burials) and the increased use of coffins. This change is visible in a number of burials at both Alington Avenue and Poundbury. The adoption of these standardised inhumations across the area of study would seem likely to reflect a shift in the belief systems of the majority of the populace sufficient for the change to take place over a short period of time and with few exceptions. This change is likely to have at least the tacit support of the imperial hierarchy. The change is so widespread, and the differences within the wider parameters of the rite sufficient to preclude the possible of a single religion being responsible for the change.

Much has been written regarding the numbers of graves where an attempt has been made to preserve the body in death, either through the use of a container for the body or through the inclusion of a preservative substance in the grave. The study of regionality below has indicated that the use of a container for the body shows considerable regional deviation. There appears to be greater emphasis placed on these in the westernmost provinces, with wooden coffins the most common. Such containers are much less common in the eastern areas, where tile graves and tombs are common. In the light of this, it seems unlikely that the desire to protect the body after death is as much a function of geography as of religious belief.

The plaster burials found on a small number of the sites studied have been previously identified as often occurring in Christian contexts (Green, 1977, 52) and have been subject to much discussion. Because they are only confined to three of the sites

studied, all of which are British, it is not intended to discuss these in great detail here. These burials appear to originate in North Africa, and appear in the European provinces during the third century AD. Here again, the concern is clearly to preserve the body of the deceased. These burials are often recorded in specifically Christian contexts, particularly in North Africa and at Trier, although not all of these are well dated, and some may date to the fifth century or later. On the British sites, the picture appears to be ambivalent, with a number of these burials furnished and displaying other 'pagan' aspects (Philpott, 1991, 90-5). On the evidence of previous studies, it appears that whilst these are not specifically Christian burial forms, given the small numbers involved, they do often occur in Christian contexts, and the possibility of such an interpretation must be considered where they do occur.

The identification of Christian aspects to burial at Lankhills and, more recently, at Poundbury has prompted discussion of whether it is possible to recognise Christianity in a late Roman burial context. Recent work by Paxton (1990) has examined literary evidence for early Christian ritual processes linked with death. Although much of that study was concerned with the texts of the early medieval period, it did examine the potential for such rituals forming in late antiquity. Paxton believed that Christian communities continued following established Jewish and pagan rituals, and cites literary examples to support this argument. Through the examination of these texts, it is suggested that the rituals around death and burial only achieved increasing complexity from the fourth century onwards, and that the burial of the dead formed part of a wider set of rituals. Indeed, the act of burial itself is not discussed in detail, although the body is washed and clothed for burial. The main emphasis appears to have been placed on the reception of the viaticum by the dying individual, with joyous psalms sung at burial to accompany passage into the afterlife. The main achievements of Paxton's work from the point of view of this thesis lie in the recognition of a fourth century Christian tradition, the acceptance that this is likely to have arisen from existing practices, the care taken to protect the dead prior to resurrection.

Amongst the numerous attempts to define Christian burials, various traits have been identified as being potentially indicative of Christian and pagan burials, with perhaps the most coherent advanced by Woodward, based on work undertaken by Dorothy Watts (Woodward, 1993, 236). Of these, the most common were west-east alignment, the presence of neonatal burials, strict cemetery organisation, focal graves, the burials of family groups within mausolea or burial enclosures, plaster burials, the absence of grave goods except those denoting the status of the individual and protection of the body with a lining or packing of some sort. Of these, it should be noted that amongst the sites studied, the majority show evidence for the burial of at least a proportion of infants, but there is rarely sufficient detail published to establish whether these include neonates, and that plaster burials only occur on three of the British sites. It has been suggested that the burial of grave goods denoting the status of an individual can be considered a Christian trait as this would enable the burial of a wide range of grave goods in Christian graves, including both worn and unworn personal articles and certain items of equipment (see the discussion of status in burials below).

The traits identified as pagan include decapitation of the dead, the positioning of coins in the mouth (considered likely to be a fee for Charon), the provision of footwear (possibly for the journey into the underworld), unworn personal articles, prone burial, disturbance of earlier graves and north south-alignment. The practice of decapitation of the dead is confined to a small number of sites studied, although Philpott (1991, 77-88) has indicated that these are relatively common in Britain. They are not, however, common in continental Europe. As with plaster burials, much discussion has centred on the belief systems associated with such a practice. In view of the small number of sites upon which this practice occurs, it is not proposed to examine these arguments in detail. There is often little to distinguish the decapitations from other graves in the same cemetery beyond the removal of the head. This suggests that the reason for decapitation is more likely to be belief-centred than social, and that the decapitation of the dead was sufficiently acceptable for these burials to be accepted alongside the rest of the population.

The chronological analysis of burials in the Western Empire has identified a number of potentially interesting patterns. Although a number of sites show evidence for burials having west-east alignments, four actually show a shift towards the west-east alignment of graves. These are Poundbury, Lankhills, Krefeld-Gellep and Neuberg-an-der-Donau. In all of these cases, this is associated with a change in the furnishing of the graves. At Poundbury, the vast majority of graves in the main cemetery are unfurnished, with the exceptions containing personal articles, coins and items of equipment. These included a number of traits identified as 'pagan', including hobnails and coins placed in the mouth. The former may also be an indicative of status or even clothing at burial than positively pagan in nature. The proportion of furnished graves in the main cemetery is small. A similar picture emerges with Krefeld-Gellep, where the majority of west-east graves are unfurnished, and those graves containing pottery and glass vessels show a strongly north-south trend. The graves containing personal articles and no vessels show a different common alignment (west-east). The discussion of Christianity at Lankhills (Macdonald, 1979, 433) concludes that burial practice after AD 350 was influenced towards Christian practices. At Neuberg, the shift towards west-east burial, in zone 3, is also accompanied by an apparent change in the items buried with the dead - which are fewer and confined to personal articles and items of equipment. Interestingly, bone combs appear in a number of the furnished graves amongst these graves at both Poundbury and Neuberg. It is possible that these represent the remains of complex hairstyles - an idea supported by their common location behind or near the head.

The evidence from these four sites appear to indicate that there is a major shift in attitudes towards the choice of alignments of graves and furnishing of the grave within the last two thirds of the fourth century. All show a shift in alignment towards a numerical supremacy of graves aligned west-east. This is particularly marked at Poundbury and Krefeld-Gellep, where there is strong evidence for contemporary furnished burials sharing a different alignment. This shift in the predominant alignment is associated with a decline in the use of grave goods in these graves, and especially in the use of pottery. It has already been indicated below that a number of these sites show

strong evidence for a decline in the popularity of grave furnishing over time, but it is equally clear that this is largely linked to the predominance of west-east burial, with graves with differing alignments more commonly furnished. At Poundbury, the west-east graves also include the majority of graves where considerable expenditure was lavished on the preservation of the body.

There can be a number of explanations for this phenomenon, of which the most conventional would be social. The decline in levels of furnishing alone could be regarded as dwindling social networks in the twilight of empire, but cannot easily explain the common alignment - the presence of a few apparently expensive attempts to preserve the body also suggests that these burials are unlikely to be purely burials of paupers. It is also possible that economic reasons influenced these changes, but the discussion of status and wealth below has already indicated that the grave goods within a grave are rarely valuable items in monetary terms, whilst some of the attempts to protect the body may have been. It is suggested here that these changes may reflect shifts in belief. The distribution of the sites on which this phenomena has been identified suggests that the stimulus is likely to have been the result of a widespread cultural change, and it is considered that a change in religious belief is the most plausible such stimulus. In view of the timing of this change (during the middle third of the fourth century) the nature of the change and the continuation of earlier rites in differing areas of the cemetery in three of the four sites (with Lankhills the exception), Christianity is thought likely to be the religion concerned if a simple religion is the answer. This is not to suggest that all of the individuals buried in this manner were devout Christians, merely that they were buried in a Christian fashion. Thus, the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire may have led to the adoption of a Christian fashion of burial by all but the most devoutly 'pagan'.

Whilst it is clear that the vast majority of burials examined in this study cannot be identified as characteristic of any particular religious grouping, a small proportion of the sites studied can, if the criteria used are reliable, be recognised as potentially Christian in form. Although pagan burials can be identified through their furnishing,

individual religious practices cannot be recognised, and these merely represent groups of graves with no potentially Christian traits. However, four sites show possible evidence for Christian burials, based on the traits listed in Woodward (1993, 236), although the evidence at Lankhills is less convincing than on the other three sites. On these three sites, the majority of potentially Christian burials are confined to discrete areas of the cemeteries, and there appears to be a change in the predominant alignment in favour of west-east alignment. This change appears to take place at the end of the first third of the fourth century at Poundbury and Krefeld-Gellep, whilst the graves of zone 3 at Neuberg-an-der-Donau are dated to the end of the fourth century.

If we accept that the Christian burials of this period allowed for an expression of status through the provision of certain grave goods, then the minority of furnished graves in the potentially Christian areas on these sites can also be considered as Christian. The problem with this is that a number of the grave goods do not appear to be linked to the status of an individual - notably the coins (some placed in the mouth of the deceased) and bone combs from some of the graves. Indeed the placing of a coin in the mouth of the deceased is regarded as strongly pagan. It may be that these graves represent examples of late Roman pragmatism, along the lines of that shown by Constantine himself, who converted to Christianity on his death bed. The combs are harder to explain, as they are unlikely to represent status of an individual, and have no obvious Christian or pagan symbolism, although it is possible, as suggested above, that these represent hair accessories.

It seems reasonably likely that Christianity was becoming increasingly popular within the Empire during the period covered by this study, and that this ought to be represented in the burial rites, in view of the particular traits identified as potentially Christian. It therefore seems likely that although a number of potentially Christian burials have been identified, that these only represent those that are buried with explicitly Christian traits. Both 'pagan' religions and early Christianity may have shown a degree of pragmatism regarding burial rites, and there is potentially a considerable overlap between the two.

The role of grave goods as evidence for religious practice is hard to define - the definition of religious belief through examination of individual aspects of furnishing is confined to a few individual practices and to generalisations about levels of furnishing. Amongst the more visible or obvious 'pagan' practices are the provision of a coin placed in the mouth of the deceased (a fee for Charon), the provision of pottery or glass vessels and of animal remains. Of the groups excluded from these categories, individual personal articles and items of equipment are likely to be 'pagan' in character.

The presence of 'military' and 'official' burials on the sites studied.

A number of the sites studied are likely to be cemeteries related to late Roman military installations, and it is perhaps unsurprising that a number of graves studied show evidence for military burials. What is perhaps surprising is the number of late Roman graves contain weaponry - usually considered 'un-Roman'. These are highlighted in fig 18. The distribution of these suggests that they are linked to the frontier zones of the Empire, with only a single grave from the south of France containing a weapon. The weaponry generally consists of axes, spears and arrowheads. Of these, the arrowheads show the least coherence in the context in which they are found. These include a number of possibly accidental inclusions - either found in the grave fills or in an unusual position in the grave, or, in the case of one individual at Neuberg-an-der-Donau, apparently embedded in the body (a second burial from the site contained an individual who had clearly been killed by a severe sword blow to the head).

These weapons often occur in graves containing belt buckles or belt sets (belt buckles, fittings and strap ends) and occasionally with crossbow brooches. In these cases, there can be little doubt that these burials represent military burials. The most coherent example of these co-occurrences are provided by the graves at Furfooz, which often contained more than one weapon (usually axes and spears), along with belt sets

and, occasionally, crossbow brooches. There is little in the other grave goods within the graves to suggest that these graves are unusual other than in the provision of weapons. These often occur with pottery, personal articles, coins and glass vessels in different combinations, but are rarely unusually well furnished. Knives are frequently found buried along with graves containing either weaponry or crossbow brooches.

Where the anthropological information regarding these burials is recorded, the burials are generally adult males, with the only recorded exceptions to this being two children from the site of Keszthely-Dobogo, one of which contains a crossbow brooch, two buckles, belt fittings and two axes.

In addition to these graves, which can be directly attributed to the burial of late Roman soldiers, there is a second group of graves worthy of similar consideration. These consist of graves containing crossbow brooches and belt sets. In these graves, which often contain both of these types of personal articles, the burials are almost always of adult males. It is generally accepted that crossbow brooches are indicative of late Roman officialdom. At Lankhills, Clarke (1979) suggested that the individuals buried with crossbow brooches not only represented part of an intrusive group, but that they represented Imperial officials. In view of their common association with belt sets (discussed below), their occasional association with burials containing weapons and their distribution predominantly on cemeteries associated with military sites, it is suggested here that many such burials may represent burials of military officials.

Generally the crossbow brooches buried are worn, with the majority worn on the right shoulder and a small number on the left. A small minority of crossbow brooches are clearly unworn, but these appear on a number of sites, and appear to be a simple minority practice.

The buckles and belt sets are almost never worn. Instead, these are generally placed on either side of the body or on or by the legs and feet. This practice is common across the sites studied, including the Hungarian sites, where the vast majority of other forms of personal articles are worn. The numerical distribution of crossbow brooches shows a distinct bias in favour of the Hungarian sites, whilst the belt buckles and belt

sets show a more widespread distribution. This may indicate that the picture for the use of crossbow brooches is not as simple as has previously been assumed.

If the burials containing crossbow brooches purely represented burials of officers or members of the military hierarchy, then this study would indicate that the regional distribution of these burials is uneven. The proportion of these burials is considerably higher in Pannonia than in the other provinces studied. There may be a difference between these areas in terms of the tradition of burying these items, or it may be that they have a different meaning in the different areas. If these brooches originated in Hungary, and were adopted at a slightly later date as official insignia by the imperial hierarchy, then it is possible that they continued in widespread use in the Hungarian region. The distribution of sites in which these items occur is similar to that of the graves containing weaponry - in other words, sites where a military presence would not be unusual. This distribution is too widespread to suggest that all of these individuals could have a common place of origin, and analysis has shown that these are often made locally (Clarke, 1979, 262-3)

The burial of unworn belt buckles and belt sets as grave goods shows a slightly more widespread distribution than the crossbow brooches. These are generally considered to be military belts (Keller, 1971, 67), with chip-carved examples possibly Germanic in origin (Hawkes & Dunning, 1961, 12). The vast majority of these show evidence for having been unworn at burial. This practice has an unusually close parallel in a wall painting from within a tomb at Silistra (best illustrated in Schneider, 1983, Abb. 14, p. 42). In this painting, a servant or mourner is shown carrying the military belt of the deceased to the grave, whilst the deceased himself is shown wearing a cloak held together at the shoulder by a crossbow brooch. This appears to represent the burial of the military or riding uniform (in the form of the military belt and trousers) alongside the deceased who is buried in more formal official attire (Reece, pers. comm.). It is also possible that the military belt was viewed as an important indicator of military status. This practice may highlight the reasoning behind the placing of other unworn personal

articles in graves - such as graves where hobnailed boots do not appear to have been worn.

The identification of a number of potentially military burials relies on the presence of weaponry, crossbow brooches and belt sets, often in combination with each other buried as grave goods with the dead. Of these, the burials of weapons seem likely to represent a minority rite, even amongst these burials regarded as military. The same could be said of crossbow brooches, which are likely to belong to an elite group within the imperial hierarchy. Belt sets may represent a wider proportion of military burials, but even these may represent a certain section of the military. The common soldiers would be unlikely to have owned elaborate belt sets, but it would be unwise to regard every grave containing a belt buckle as military in origin. Whilst this study has enabled the identification of a number of burials from the sites studied as military, these clearly only represent a minority of the potentially military burials. A number of the graves identified as intrusive burials by Clarke at Lankhills meet many of the criteria of this 'military' group, both from Clarke's 'Hungarian' group of graves and from his 'Germanic' graves. A small number of these graves are unusual in that the belts are placed at the waist and may have been worn.

Various other studies have suggested that some aspects of these burials are 'Germanic' in origin - notably certain forms of belt sets and weaponry (particularly the axes, which are later common in Frankish burials). However, many of the other grave goods in these graves and the widespread distribution of these apparently 'Germanic' forms suggests that either the entire late Roman army was dominated by Germans, or that these 'Germanic' items were fashionable in the late Roman period. The latter would seem more reasonable suggestion.

Evidence for status and wealth in the burial record.

Much of the analytical study of burial practice in archaeology has concerned itself with the identification of social groups, although it is only comparatively recently

that burial in the Roman world has been subject to such analysis. To examine and understand of such social interpretations of burial practice within a Roman context, it is necessary to examine the wider background of literature on the subject, much of which is devoted to different subjects and time periods.

The growth of such theoretical analysis was initiated in the 1970's, with the catalyst a number of articles largely based on anthropological data. Binford (1972) summarised much of his earlier work and proposed a framework for the examination of social complexity through the study of mortuary practices. This suggested that the main stimulus for variability in burial practice was the social status of the deceased and the actions of individuals who had a 'duty' to them. Thereby, the social position of an individual is directly reflected in differentiation in burial rite. This followed on from an earlier study of mortuary practice by Saxe (1970). This saw mortuary practice as the normal expression of the social personality of the deceased in a burial context and the burial itself within a wider social context. Saxe proposed a framework for such an analysis of mortuary practice based on eight hypotheses affecting mortuary rites. This was tested against differing sets of anthropological data, and used to identify both the social position of the individual and the structure of the wider social organisation.

The work of Brown (1971) followed a similar thesis, although it did consider the relevance of such a theoretical approach to archaeological as well as anthropological data. The stated aim of the work was to establish a model for an archaeological theory of burial practice through as structured formal analysis. Unfortunately, however, it demonstrated a number of actual and potential problems in the use of both sets of data used.

These seminal works led to a plethora of further works expounding the merits and disadvantages of such theoretical approaches, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these here. Instead, we will focus on two - Tainter (1977) and O'Shea (1984).

Tainter used systems models to assess differentiation noted in archaeological data from mortuary contexts. This was used to assess the four principle characteristics of

a social system. These were identified as: i) the structural complexity of the system, ii) the nature of the structural differentiation, iii) the amount and degree of organisation and iv) the nature of this organisation (1977, 329). One of the most significant aspects from the point of view of this study was the emphasis placed on determining the 'value' - in Tainter's case this equated to labour expenditure - of aspects of the burial ritual. Statistical analysis of these levels of expenditure enabled a value to be placed on organisation and rank differentiation. Chapman, Randsborg and Kinnes (1981) drew together much of the then current thought in an excellent synthesis of 'processual' mortuary theory.

O'Shea attempted to identify 'basic systematic patterns' that influenced mortuary variability. The absence of anthropological data for comparison with archaeological material led to the creation of a model to enable the extrapolation of ethnographic data into projected archaeological results and vice versa - with the latter used to create an idea of social organisation from the archaeological data.

Much subsequent application of theoretical approaches to an archaeological context has focused on prehistoric and medieval data. Recent studies of burial practice in the Roman period have tended to focus on the early Roman period and the influence of 'Romanisation' on the prevailing Iron Age burial practice (and by implication social order). Some of the best examples of this work are Jones (1983), Galliou (1992), Millett (1993) and Struck (1995). Jones focused on the examination of burial rites in the western empire during the early Roman period, with much emphasis placed on statistical analysis of the excavated evidence, whilst the other three publications show more regional focus. Galliou's study of the burials in Armorica considered in detail the potential for the definition of both social and economic factors within a burial context. Struck studied change in the cemeteries of St Albans and Winchester both prior to and after the Roman conquest of Britain and concluded that whilst the archaeological remains of the associated settlements suggested a considerable degree of integration, there was little significant change in the prevailing burial rite. This followed on from Millett's re-assessment of the evidence from the King Harry Lane site in St Albans.

Analysis of the grave assemblages from that site identified a number of changes in burial practices over time. These did not involve significant growth in the use of 'Roman' grave goods during the period of study. The main change noted in the burial rites was a general decline in the provision of grave goods over time. Millett identified the provision of grave goods as depositions from mourners and therefore representative of the social networks of the deceased. Therefore he suggested that settlement nucleation was affecting the kinship networks of society in a manner not apparent in rural cemeteries.

Whilst these studies have identified a number of patterns within Roman mortuary ritual, they do not translate well to a wider context. The difficulties with using such approaches within the parameters of this study, have already been discussed above, and it is not proposed to repeat them here. The analysis of burial rites over a wider area of study has indicated that whilst social interpretations of changes in burial practice may be viable for individual cemeteries and their associated settlements, they are inappropriate to the wider context. The theoretical frameworks behind these various analyses are constructed around the concept of a single social order within which each member of society has a fixed and well defined role. The reality of the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries is likely to have been somewhat different. The Empire had had centuries of influence over the majority of the provinces studied here. The nature of the establishment and movement of army units within the empire meant that cross cultural contact is likely to have influenced the social order, and that different social and political systems may have been forced to co-exist within the wider whole.

The reliance on the use of grave goods as indicators of social position also cannot be adhered to in this study. It has already been demonstrated above that the provision of grave goods varied contemporaneously between different areas of the Empire. The possibility that individuals from such areas may have been burying in the same cemeteries according to their own established practices makes such a study fraught with difficulty. As we have seen, it is also likely that certain sections of the population were making a deliberate choice during the second half of the fourth century to bury

their dead with no grave goods (see the discussion on religion above). In a number of these cases, the expenditure on aspects of the grave furnishing is sufficient to suggest a degree of wealth either of the deceased or their wider social network. However, it is clearly not practicable to assess the social persona of the dead from grave goods alone. In other words, the beliefs or wishes of the deceased or their immediate group of mourners appear to have mitigated against the use of grave goods as such a social indicator. This suggests either that the traditional use of grave goods as such indicators had been superseded by a new priority in mortuary practice, or that such beliefs had previously held such significance but that they encouraged the use of grave goods.

This interpretation differs from the work of Millett (1992) on the cemetery at King Harry Lane (see above). Fitzpatrick (forthcoming) has indicated that Millett's work does "little more than alter the equation of 'pots = wealth of deceased' to 'pots = mourners of the deceased = social status of the deceased'". Millett identified a gradual decline in the number of grave goods buried in the cremation burials at King Harry Lane over time. A similar pattern has been identified in a few of the cemeteries studied here, with early inhumations at a number of sites (notably Krefeld-Gellep, Poundbury and Lankhills) containing both large numbers and a wide variety of grave goods followed by a subsequent decline in both the popularity of grave furnishing and the numbers of grave goods buried as grave goods.

An interpretation of this following that proposed by Millett would suggest that social networks are stable in this early period of inhumation, whilst later these become fragmented. However, the analysis of burial practice through the application of chronology has identified cases where there are chronological changes in the average numbers of grave goods buried over time. It should be stressed that this occurs against the background of the gradual decline in popularity of grave furnishing. At both Krefeld-Gellep and Lankhills, there is evidence for such an increase. In both cases, the change appears to co-incide with evidence for other differences in the mortuary rite. In both there is evidence for a contemporary influx of people from other provinces within the empire (see below). It is not suggested here that these influxes were directly

responsible for the changes identified on these sites. However, when these are viewed in the context of the peaks of grave furnishing noted in the late Iron Age by Millett at King Harry Lane and in the early inhumations at Lankhills, Krefeld-Gellep and Poundbury, it would appear that such increases either in the popularity of furnishing or in the average numbers of grave goods buried may be a reflection of wider social stress. Thus the increases in furnishing may reflect social stress between differing communities, belief systems or burial traditions, whilst the gradual declines in furnishing noted in the sites mentioned above may represent periods of assimilation or coherence of rite or belief. The introduction of intrusive burials at Neuberg does not appear to have had a major changes in the levels of grave furnishing, but there are clearly differences in other aspects of burial - notably in alignment and the choice of items buried.

Along with religious belief, the interpretation of status within the burial record is perhaps the hardest aspect of grave furnishing to examine. The temptation is to take the range of furnished burials from a site and assume that those that contain the highest number of grave goods are the wealthiest, with the aim of creating a hierarchy of furnishing and status. However, this does not allow for any chronological changes in grave furnishing, or for the popularity in general of furnished graves as a whole. It is suggested that the choice of grave goods or the choice to furnish is linked inextricably to personal choice and belief as well as to social persona, and therefore we can hope only to define the extent of the burial rite and to advance theories based on this evidence, but we cannot hope to fully understand the complex motivational factors behind such a series of decisions. This too is plagued with problems, foremost amongst which is that the archaeological evidence recovered of burial practice is only an isolated temporal fragment of a wider process. This has been emphasised in work on mortuary ritual by Huntingdon and Metcalf (1992) and Fitzpatrick (1997) in which the act of burial is viewed as part of a wider sequence of rituals which begin with the separation of the deceased from the community and culminate with their incorporation into the world of the ancestors or spirits. Paxton (1990) has undertaken a similar study on the role played by such ritual sequences on death and burial in late antiquity and the early medieval

period. However, this study attempts to deal with the material remains of these rites, and that details concerning the wider set of funerary rituals cannot be assessed.

Having established that the furnishing of a grave is likely to be a reflection of wider concerns than the expression of social position, we must identify ways of examining the status of individuals within a late Roman context. With only a limited number of ways in which the form of a grave can vary, the decisive factor in assessing the status of any particular grave has usually relied on analysis of the grave goods. In view of the difficulties identified above in distinguishing between the status of the deceased and other factors that may have influenced the choice of grave goods, the following assessment will deal with the burial record in terms of crude 'value' judgements - in other words what is perceived to have involved expense (monetary or otherwise) to the deceased or mourners.

This study has indicated that on a number of the larger sites, unfurnished burial is more common than furnished burial. It has also indicated that some of these sites also show an increase in the proportion of burials within coffins and other 'containers' for the body. These two may be linked, with the emphasis placed upon the protection of the body rather than provision for an afterlife, or they may be unrelated. A simplistic view would suggest that the unfurnished graves are likely to represent paupers, which in the context of this study would suggest that Hungarians were generally richer than the Romano-British.

Often, investment in the burial of the dead takes the form of the provision of protection for the body. This may be related to the decision regarding the furnishing of the grave, or it may be determined by local fashion and precedent. Some of the more elaborate grave forms may have been sufficiently expensive to militate against their selection by the poorer members of society. These are likely to include mausolea, lead coffins, plaster burials and some of the more solid tombs, the expense of some of which may have been affrayed by their re-use for later burials. However, the increasing popularity of coffins on many of the western sites appears to suggest that these were not beyond the budget of the majority of the population.

There is no evidence available regarding whether the family of the deceased were required to pay for a burial plot, but this seems a likely scenario. This could explain some re-use of graves, although this may well be linked to the wish of members of the same family to be buried together. Amongst the sites studied from Southern Germany and Hungary, there seems less concern with the protection of the body, with the tile graves and tombs that make up a minority of the grave forms often used repeatedly, with the bones of the previous occupant heaped in a corner to enable room to be cleared for a new burial.

The decision to furnish a grave is likely to be closely linked to personal and familial beliefs, as well as the wealth and status of the individual. The grave goods placed alongside the deceased are not expensive items, with very few exceptions. Indeed, many of the grave goods placed with the deceased are likely to have been personal possessions, and are unlikely to have been placed with the dead as a conspicuous display of wealth.

There are occasions where the numbers of grave goods within a grave can be significant. At Krefeld-Gellep in period 3, once the decision had been made to place pottery in the grave an average of seven vessels were deposited. Clearly this represents an abnormal level of furnishing, and could indicate that the burial population is subject to social stress. This peak also coincides with the introduction of glazed vessels as grave goods, and is unlikely to represent a social elite.

A small number of graves appear to contain sufficiently valuable grave goods for them to be classed as wealthy burials. Foremost amongst these are the richly furnished cremation burial from Krefeld-Gellep and a grave from Oudenburg containing a heavily gilded crossbow brooch. The former contained a wide variety of grave goods, amongst which were a silvered brooch, various items of glassware and jet and a group of nineteen silver coins. These coins covered a wide range of dates, with a number dating to the first and second centuries AD. These coins are unlikely to have survived in circulation within the bounds of the Empire (Reece pers. comm.). A comparative analysis of these coins showed similarities with the much larger groups of coins of a

similar date at Beaurains (Bastien & Metzger, 1977) and in the grave of Childeric (Dumas, 1982). The coins from these sites all appeared to have been brought back into the Empire from beyond the frontiers, and raise the possibility that the silver coins in the Krefeld-Gellep cremation burial could represent booty from campaigning outside the empire, which had possibly been distributed to the deceased as part of a *donativum*. The grave itself is closely dated to shortly after AD 298, a period in which campaigns had recently been fought to secure the frontiers.

These graves are the exceptions, and it is clear that many of the grave goods placed in graves are likely to have been at best, only moderately expensive. Perhaps the best exception to this are some of the finer glass vessels. Work by Van Lith and Randsborg (1985) established a possible link between the status of an individual and the provision of glassware in the grave. This study established that glass was often found in better furnished graves, and that it is likely to have acted as a guide to the status of an individual. This cannot be viewed in isolation, as the sole indication of status. It may well be true amongst the furnished graves, but clearly this cannot be applied to the unfurnished graves, where an individual may be both wealthy and powerful, but may have a very simple burial.

However, there are a few graves which contain articles likely to indicate that the individual buried was of a certain social status, if not of a certain wealth. These are the graves containing crossbow brooches, which are likely to belong to officials of the Empire, usually in a military capacity. An examination of the levels of furnishing of these graves suggests that there is little extravagance in their furnishing. Indeed, a number of these graves are markedly simple, occasionally containing no other grave goods or merely a belt buckle and knife. This may be linked to a military style of burial, but it may also indicate that numbers of grave goods are not necessarily a reliable indicator of special status.

A number of other forms of grave goods may enable us to form some indication of an individual's position within society. The role of belt sets and weaponry as grave goods has already been discussed above. Perhaps the best indication of the status of a

group of the deceased are the small group of graves previously identified where females are buried with more bracelets on their left arm than on their right. This group has a limited geographical distribution, being largely confined to Hungary (although Clarke, 1979, 381 also identified the practice in southern Bavaria and Austria). Anthropological study has suggested that this practice is common with young girls, but not with adult women. It therefore seems logical to assume that the use of bracelets in this fashion may indicate their social status - for example as an indicator of whether a girl or woman was betrothed or not (the age of some of the individuals concerned suggests that it is unlikely to relate to whether an individual is married). However, much of the significance of individual types of grave goods cannot be identified purely by examination of the extant data.

It is impossible at present to gain an overall view of status and wealth of individuals within the sites studied. It is possible to identify the graves of the rich, where this is reflected in the grave goods, but beyond this, the element of human choice makes it hard to establish a framework within which to assess these factors. The exception to the rule appears to be the distinctive rite involving the greater numbers of bracelets worn on the left arm. This is clearly a social statement rather than one of wealth. However, an examination of potentially high status burials - those containing crossbow brooches - indicated that there was no discernible difference in the overall levels of furnishing. Van Lith and Randsborg's study (1985) of glassware in burial contexts established that it occurred most frequently in well furnished graves, but this can only be applied within these groups of furnished graves. As with pagan burials, the potential social and economic reasons for favouring a particular grave form or deposition cannot be guessed at, and at present all we have are a few tantalising pointers towards defining the wealth and status of the dead.

Ethnicity and intrusive burials.

A number of the sites studied show evidence for changes in archaeologically recoverable elements of the mortuary ritual which appear to be contemporary with evidence for non-indigenous influences - largely in the form of grave goods or artefacts commonly associated with external cultures. There is no significant tradition of examining ethnicity in the late Roman burial record in the area of study. Such studies have been largely confined to the anthropological data, and there appears to have been a reaction against the use of mortuary practice as indicative of ethnicity - particularly in the early Roman period, where studies of 'Romanisation' in the burial record has largely been construed as affecting the local population - generally from the elite downwards. Hines (1996) briefly examined the results of the influence of the Roman Empire on cultural diversity in Britain, but did not deal with burial in any detail.

O'Shea's work on mortuary variation (1984) included an analysis of the potential for the expression of ethnic identity through such variation and provides perhaps the most coherent study to date. Through study of the burial rites of three American Indian tribes, he attempted to "assess the degree to which such ethnic or cultural divisions constrain or structure archaeologically observable mortuary variability" (1984, 287). The results of this study were mixed. Whilst it was clear that ethnicity could not reliably be indicated in differences in the respective burial rites, one of the tribes - the Omaha - could be identified through their normative treatment attributes.

The identification of ethnic groups at Lankhills arose from the identification of a small but discrete group of burials showing distinct and coherent sufficient differences from the norm within the cemetery, whilst elsewhere such change has relied on other evidence for the movement of an ethnic group into a new area. (Clarke, 1975, 46). In both of these cases, the identification relies upon the different ethnic groups having distinct and differing sets of cultural material. The discussion of regionality in Late Roman burial above has already identified a number of regional differences, but the majority of these concern overall proportions of individual aspects of the overall rite, and are rarely unusual enough to stand out from the general pattern of burial. Indeed, the

best chance for identifying individual ethnic groups within the empire lies with unusual grave forms, unusual patterns of furnishing and burials from beyond the boundaries of the Empire. Few of the grave forms which show regional distribution also occur with unusual furnishing forms, with the exception of the Pannonian graves, where personal articles are generally worn (with buckles and belt sets forming the exception to this rule) and the body is rarely provided with a container. These graves stand out from the general pattern of late Roman burials in that they show both difference and coherence of rite.

The first intrusive group of burials at Lankhills were identified by Clarke as having parallels in Hungary, Austria and Southern Germany. (1979, 383-4), and a search for exact parallels to the rite identified at Lankhills led him to suggest that these belonged to burials of individuals originating in Sarmatia, just beyond the borders of the Empire. However, this strict search for parallels must be questioned in the light of doubts over the strength of coherence of the rite identified by Clarke - the number of 'original' or first generation burials on which the comparisons are drawn are few. The discussion of regionality, military burials and status in burial above have indicated that the group of burials identified by Clarke have parallels in both the 'military'/'official' tradition and in graves from Hungary and Southern Germany. This does not preclude the identification of these burials as a single group. Indeed, the graves identified by Clarke would be comfortable in many of the sites in these regions, which show evidence for military occupation. However, they do not have a sufficient distinctive rite to enable the area of origin to be more closely defined.

Clearly the burials are unusual on the site. The male graves on their own could be taken as an indication of the introduction of a military presence into the area, but the female burials, and particularly those with the characteristic pattern of worn personal articles (including the practice of wearing more bracelets on the left arm than the right) seem more likely to have a more specific centre of origin, and their appearance in the cemetery at the same time as the male graves suggest that these are likely to belong to the same group.

A second group of 'foreign' burials was identified at Neuberg-an-der-Donau by Keller (1979). The identification of these graves relied on the presence of clearly unusual grave goods and the identification of racial traits in the skeletal remains. Although only a few of the graves are furnished, the pottery forms, from eastern Germany, beyond the boundaries of the Empire are clearly intrusive. Combined with this, the analysis of skeletal variation between the three chronological zones identified by Keller indicated that these appeared to represent different burial populations (Keller, 1979, 105-6). The evidence from both the anthropology, and burial rite (including alignment) seems to indicate that there is strong evidence for the presence of at least one ethnic group from outside the Empire, with the appearances of apparently 'Gothic' grave goods in zone 3 too few to be reliable.

The identification of a racially intrusive group at Keszthely-Dobogo seems less reliable. The group are identified as originating in the Black Sea region, and whilst there are a few unusual pottery forms, and a small number of the male graves have penannular brooches rather than crossbow brooches, there is no compelling evidence that these show different levels of furnishing. Indeed, the general pattern of grave furnishing is similar to that common elsewhere in the region. Without anthropological evidence or coherent differences in rite to support the material evidence, the presence of apparently intrusive grave goods cannot reliably be used to identify intrusive burials.

This is also true of the graves containing glazed vessels at Krefeld-Gellep. Whilst these vessels are clearly Hungarian in origin, the graves in which they occur cannot be separated from the range of graves forming the norm for the cemetery. These appear at Krefeld-Gellep in graves of period 3, and more rarely, period 4. The poor survival of human bone from the site makes an anthropological study of skeletal traits along the lines of that carried out at Neuberg-an-der-Donau unfeasible.

The arrival of these vessels does coincide with the fashion towards furnishing graves with large numbers of pottery vessels, but whilst this may be the reflection of social stresses within the burial population, there is no evidence that this stress is the result of the arrival of a particular ethnic group. Indeed, it could be a reaction to any

external or internal stimulus, possibly even representing a pagan reaction to the increasing predominance of a 'Christian' rite which is characterised by an unwillingness to bury pottery vessels with the dead.

There can be little doubt that the glazed vessels at Krefeld-Gellep are intrusive, but without these forming part of a distinctive burial rite or supporting anthropological evidence, these cannot be regarded as indicative of an intrusive burial population.

A number of different forms of grave goods have been identified as 'Germanic' in origin. These are predominantly personal articles - such as brooches and belt sets - and items of equipment - notably combs and weaponry (Nenquin, 1953, Hawkes & Dunning, 1961, Böhme, 1974). These appear on many of the sites studied, often in association with sites containing military burials. Although the army of the late Roman period seems to have relied increasingly on hired help such as the *laeti* and *foederati*, there is no evidence to support the idea that these formed the norm rather than the exception. Instead, it would seem logical to suggest that these grave goods became fashionable with late Roman soldiers. Harder to explain are the small number of *tutulus* brooches from female graves at Krefeld-Gellep, Oudenburg and Marteville. These usually occur in pairs (one on either side of the chest), and occasionally with other 'Germanic' or 'Frankish' grave goods. These seem more likely to represent generally intrusive burials in the light of the distinctive form of deposition, but in none of the cases cited is there any supporting physical anthropology.

Such anthropological data clearly can play an important part in the identification of intrusive burials. At Frenouville, the anthropological study indicated that, although there was a widespread change towards a characteristically 'Frankish' rite, the burial population appears to differ little in its characteristics from the late Roman cemetery (Pilet, 1980). It should be noted however, that the region covered by the anthropological 'type' against which these burials are compared is not clearly set out. However, at the nearby site of St Martin-de-Fontenay, where there is a similar pattern of change in burial rite, cases of cranial deformation pointed towards the presence of intrusive burials.

The only other example of an intrusive burial from the sites studied was that of a child from the northern periphery cemetery at Poundbury. This was identified through lead isotope analysis of the bones, which showed that the body contained lead isotopes identical to ores found in Greece (similar analysis on other burials showed isotopes common in the Mendips).

The uncritical identification of ethnicity through the presence of intrusive grave goods alone is clearly unreliable. The correlation between these and coherently atypical or different sites however could well begin to suggest the presence of intrusive burials. However, the study has indicated that there are few regions in which the burial rite differs significantly from the rest of the empire. Put simply, a typical Hungarian group of burials would stand out virtually anywhere else in the study area, but the same could not be said of any other areas, for although these all have different aspects of burial rite and grave goods, they do not form distinct rites in the same fashion as the Hungarian burials do. Indeed, the only case where the intrusive group appears to have its origins within the empire, the burials are identified with a rite similar to the Hungarian rite. Therefore it is important, where possible, that thorough study of the burial populations be carried out in order to gain as much information as possible from the physical remains. It is likely that, as with burial rite and furnishing, such an analysis will be unable to distinguish between the majority of skeletal groups, but the possibilities should still be explored. Also worthy of further study is the study of ethnicity and 'kinship' on similar lines to that performed by Salamon at Mözs (Salamon 1980). Ultimately, it is unlikely that the study of ethnicity will ever be able to deal with the majority of the burials studied, but despite this, the areas where such analysis is possible may be able to give us an insight into both the movement of people within the empire and the importance of ethnicity in burials - at present, it appears that the ethnicity of the deceased in a burial context is secondary to other considerations such as religion and status. It is just possible that the inhumations of the late Roman world united an empire in death, with self and cultural expression expressed within common parameters. However, this study has suggested, as did O'Shea (1984, 299-301), that whilst there is

potential for identifying wider cultural affinities through the study of normative mortuary rituals, there is also a limited potential for identifying particular ethnic groups where the normative rites of these groups differ significantly from others encompassed in the study. This seems to be the case with this study, where there are clear examples of such differing normative rites. Generally, however the study of ethnicity as expressed in mortuary practice in late Roman context will be subject to similar limitations to those identified by O'Shea (1984, 301), who argued that ethnic distinctions could not be assumed a priori to significantly affect the structure of mortuary ritual.

Whither late Roman cemetery studies ?

The limitations of this study have already been discussed above, but it is worth examining a few of these here in order to suggest areas for further work. First amongst these is that the study cannot hope to cover the study area in any great detail. Instead, the study has established a general overview of late roman burial practices. In order to satisfy the requirements of a thesis, the application of an analysis as detailed as that used by Clarke (1979) was clearly impractical, and the compromises made were detailed above.

It seems slightly depressing that since the publication of the Lankhills report, nearly 20 years ago, along with the contemporary publication of the Neuberg report, few cemetery reports have followed their lead and included a discussion of the chronology and the change in burial practice over time. This is true of both regional studies and publications of individual cemeteries.

Another aspect of cemetery studies, which rarely receives its due attention is the 'silent majority' of burials. These are the graves which are not unusually well furnished, do not have unusual grave forms and are not decapitated plaster burials of diseased one legged infants within lead coffins bearing Christian inscriptions and symbols. Obviously these graves are of interest, but too often concentration has been focused on minority rites with insufficient emphasis placed on the commonplace. The fact that burial rite

shows relatively widespread conformity is worthy of mention. One of the most important points to come from the discussion of certain aspects of burial rite above is that it is often impossible to look at the religious beliefs, status, wealth and ethnicity of the majority of graves studied. To a degree this will be due to the impenetrability of the decision making process regarding the burial of the dead, but part of it will be the result of the inherent similarity of many of the burials.

Having stated the case for banality and the ordinary, it is important to acknowledge the role that can be played by examination of the minority rites. There seems little point in highlighting further the areas discussed in some detail above. However, it is by closer analysis of the unusual that we may be able to further understand the norm.

Another important aspect of this study has been the recognition of the usefulness of a large study area. It has enabled comparison beyond the locale of a cemetery, and identified some useful groupings, notably some of the military burials - the presence of weapons in a small number of late Roman graves from a site can be explained as burials of barbarians or Germans, depending on their location within the study area, but when a number of sites show similar patterns, clearly the position is slightly more complex. The same is true of unworn belts and belt sets - these are not out of place on the majority of sites studied, but when this practice is common in areas where virtually all personal articles are worn, clearly there is a coherence of rite that is beyond regional. A further consequence of the use of the wider study area lies in the isolation of problems with current theoretical approaches when applied to the wider context in the late Roman period.

The main achievements of this study lie in the success of both the chronological approach and the use of a wide study area. The importance of examining change in burial practice over time has been shown through the identification of distinct changes over time. This has enabled the further examination of differences in burial practice in terms of their fluctuation over time. The recognition of these groups has enabled further discussion of the merits of current theoretical approaches and interpretations. The most

successful example amongst the sites studied was the analysis of the burials at Krefeld-Gellep. This identified several different changes over time and stimulated much of the discussion above.

The large study area has enabled the placement of such changes within a wider contextual framework. Differing provinces of the Empire clearly contained different rites, with associated variation in furnishing and treatment. This has enabled doubt to be cast over purely social interpretations of variation in mortuary ritual in the late Roman period, with evidence for changing belief systems and ethnic composition of the burial population identified as additional contributory factors.

Further detailed work on the use and origin of grave goods would certainly improve the chances of understanding certain aspects of burial rite, notably ethnicity and status, whilst detailed study of more cemeteries would certainly help to establish whether many of the patterns identified by this study are genuine. It is entirely possible that a number of the conclusions drawn in the course of this study are erroneous when the entire burial database is examined, but if the time is taken to disprove these, then at least we will be further down the road to understanding.

It is important to recognise that we can never hope to fully understand late Roman burial practice, but through the detailed analysis of burial rite we can at least hope to make slight inroads into the darkness. To date late Roman cemetery studies, with few exceptions rarely venture into detailed analysis of burial practice. Increasingly, it appears as though there is an acceptance that it is important to include a catalogue of the graves excavated along with a description of the more interesting aspects of furnishing, grave form, alignment, anthropology etc. whilst these are rarely regarded as small parts of a greater whole. The step to a full analysis of burial rite, preferably linked to a developed chronology, is a small and logical one, but is rarely taken. It is likely that following such a course for the majority of sites excavated would produce little of great interest, but this in itself could be significant within a wider context. The recognition of the value of this wider context and the importance of studying change within an

established chronological framework are perhaps the primary achievements of this study.

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Appendix 1. Catalogue of the furnishing types used in the analysis.

Type	Pottery	Worn p a	Unworn p a	Equipment	Animal Remains	Coins	Other vessels
1	x						
2		x					
3			x				
4				x			
5					x		
6							x
7						x	
8	x	x			x		
9	x	x					
10			x			x	
11					x	x	
12			x	x			
13		x		x			
14				x	x		
15		x		x	x		
16		x			x		
17			x		x		
18	x		x				
19	x				x		
20	x				x		x
21	x	x			x	x	
22	x		x			x	
23	x	x				x	
24		x				x	
25	x	x		x			
26	x		x	x			
27	x		x	x			x
28	x						x
29	x	x		x			x
30	x		x	x		x	x
31	x				x	x	x
32	x			x			x
33	x	x			x		x
34	x	x				x	x
35	x		x		x		
36	x			x	x		
37	x				x	x	
38		x		x		x	
39			x				x
40		x			x	x	
41	x	x					x
42				x			x
43			x	x			x
44				x	x	x	
45	x		x		x		x
46	x	x		x		x	x
47			x	x	x		

Type	Pottery	Worn p a	Unworn p a	Equipment	Animal Remains	Coins	Other vessels
48	x					x	
49	x		x			x	
50	x			x			
51	x		x				x
52				x		x	
53						x	x
54			x	x		x	x
55	x		x	x		x	
56			x	x		x	
57		x					x
58		x		x			x
59		x		x		x	x
60		x		x	x		x
61		x			x		x
62		x				x	x
63			x			x	x
64				x	x		x
65	x		x		x	x	x
66	x			x	x		x
67	x	x			x	x	x
68	x					x	x
69				x		x	x
70	x	x		x	x		x
71			x		x		x
72	x		x	x	x		
73	x			x		x	x
74	x		x			x	x
75	x	x		x		x	
76	x	x		x	x	x	
77	x	x		x	x	x	x
78					x		x

Fig. 1. Sites containing Late Roman Cremations.

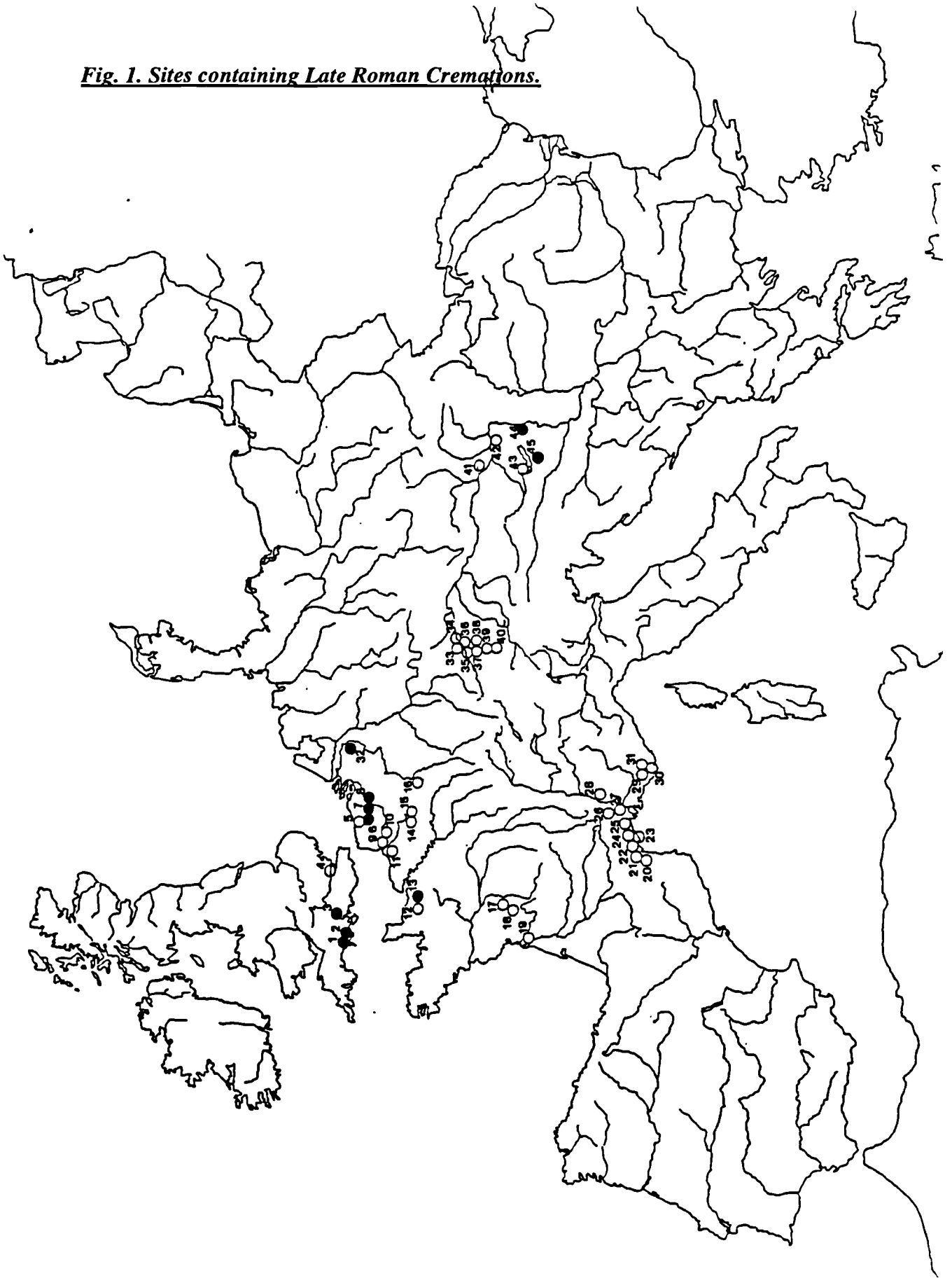


Fig. 2. Sites where earth dug graves make up more than 50% of the whole.

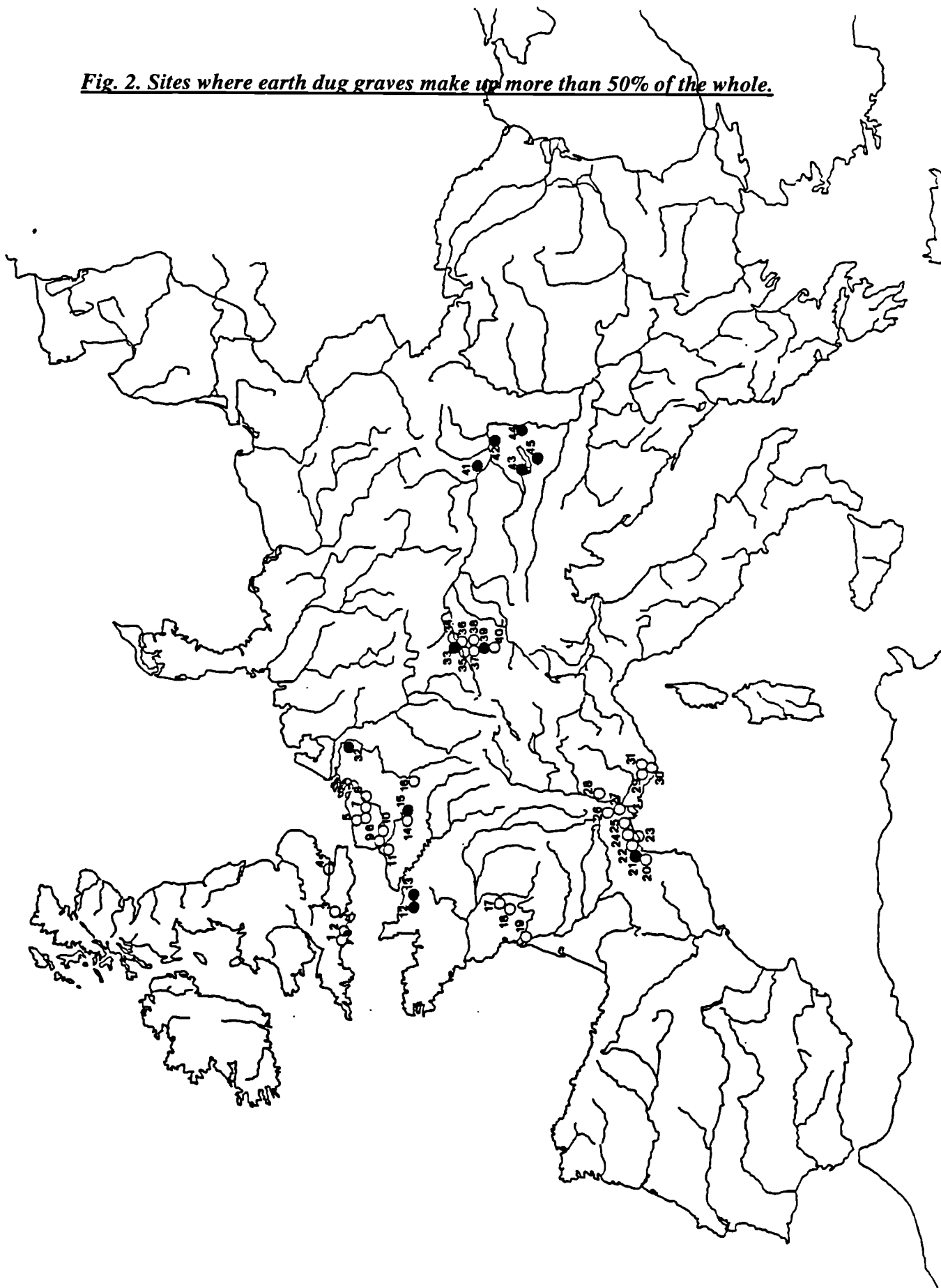


Fig. 3. Sites containing Late Roman tile graves.

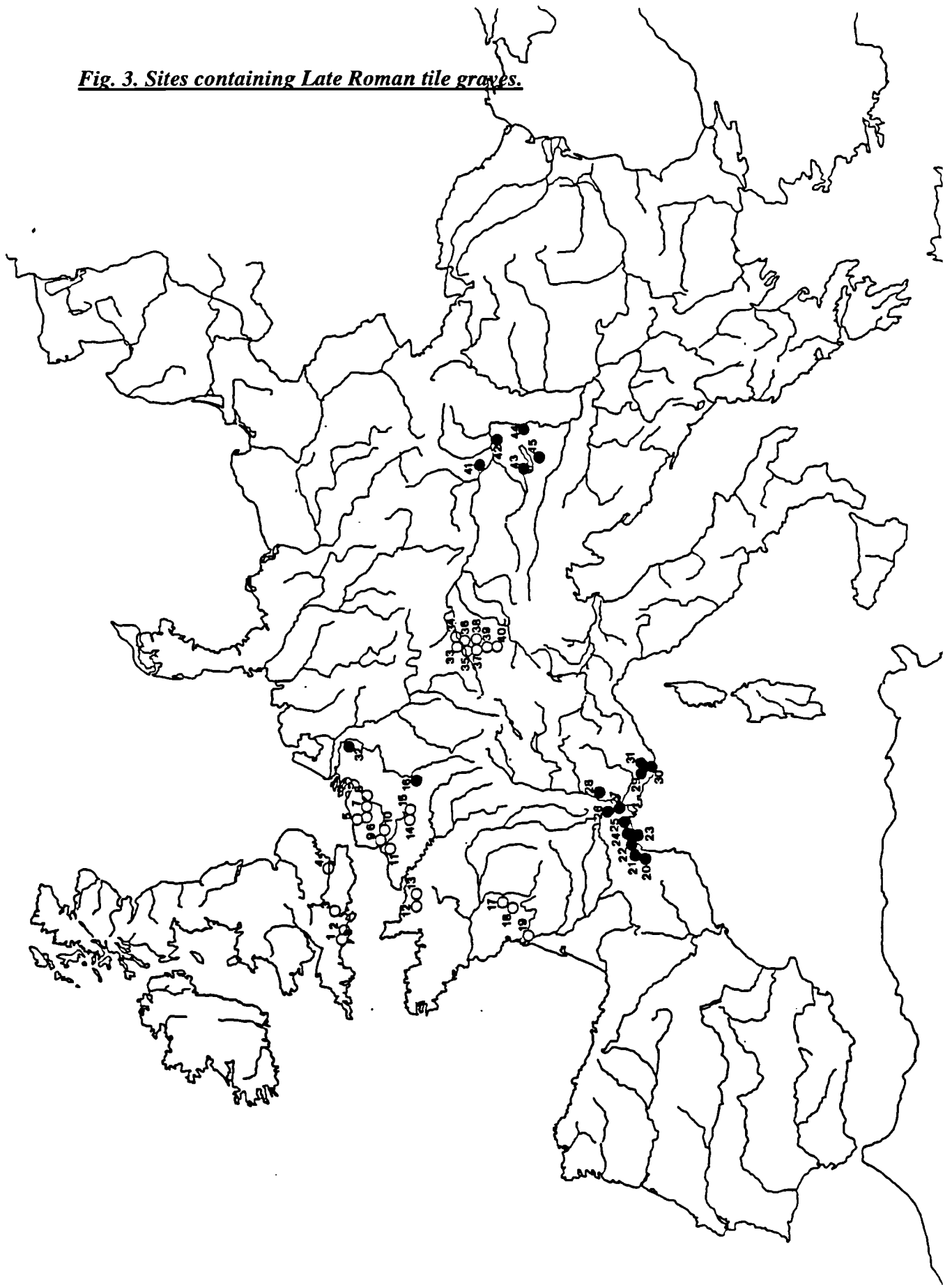


Fig. 4. Sites containing Late Roman stone lined graves.

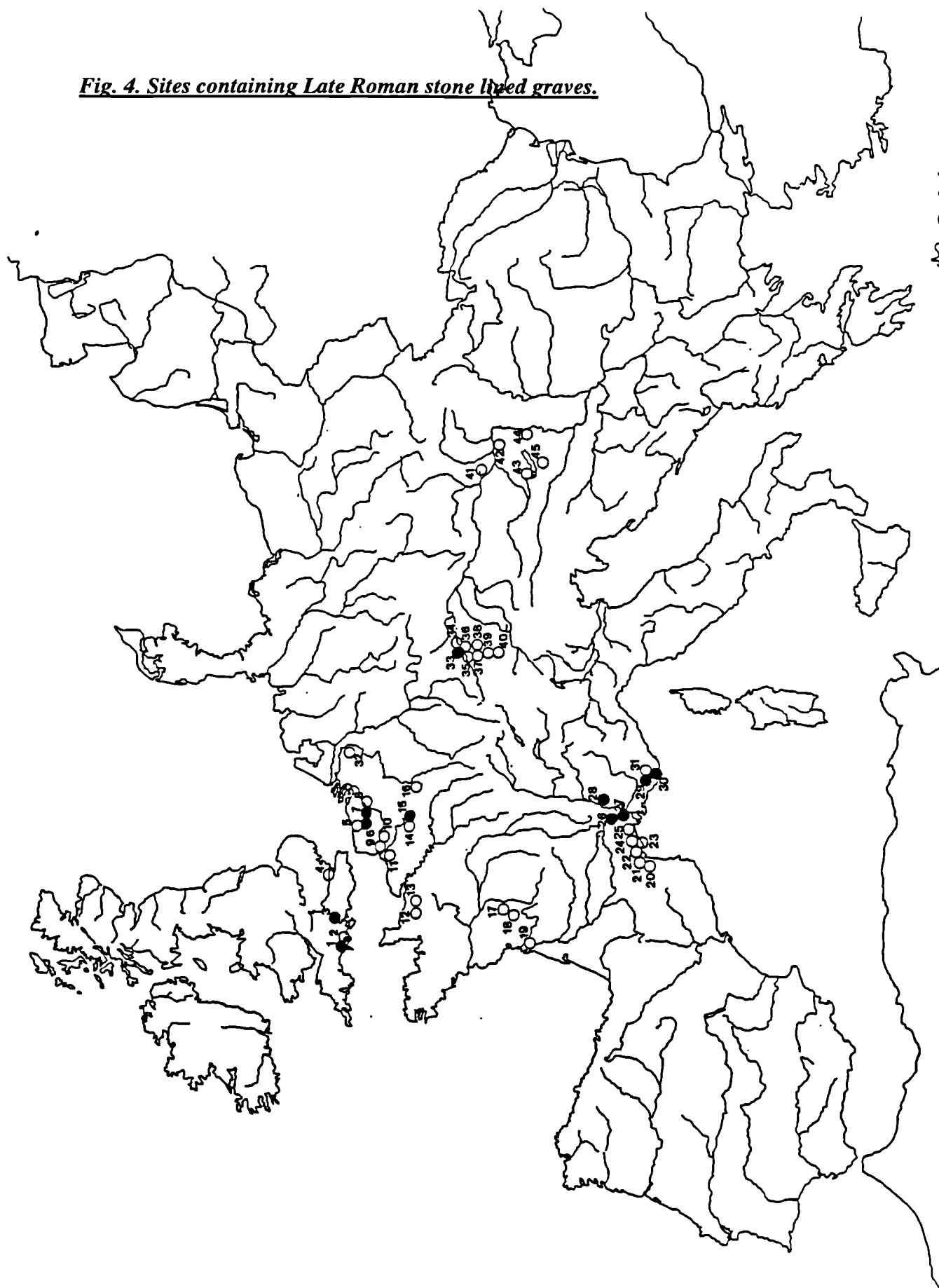


Fig. 5. Sites where coffins are buried in more than 50% of the graves.

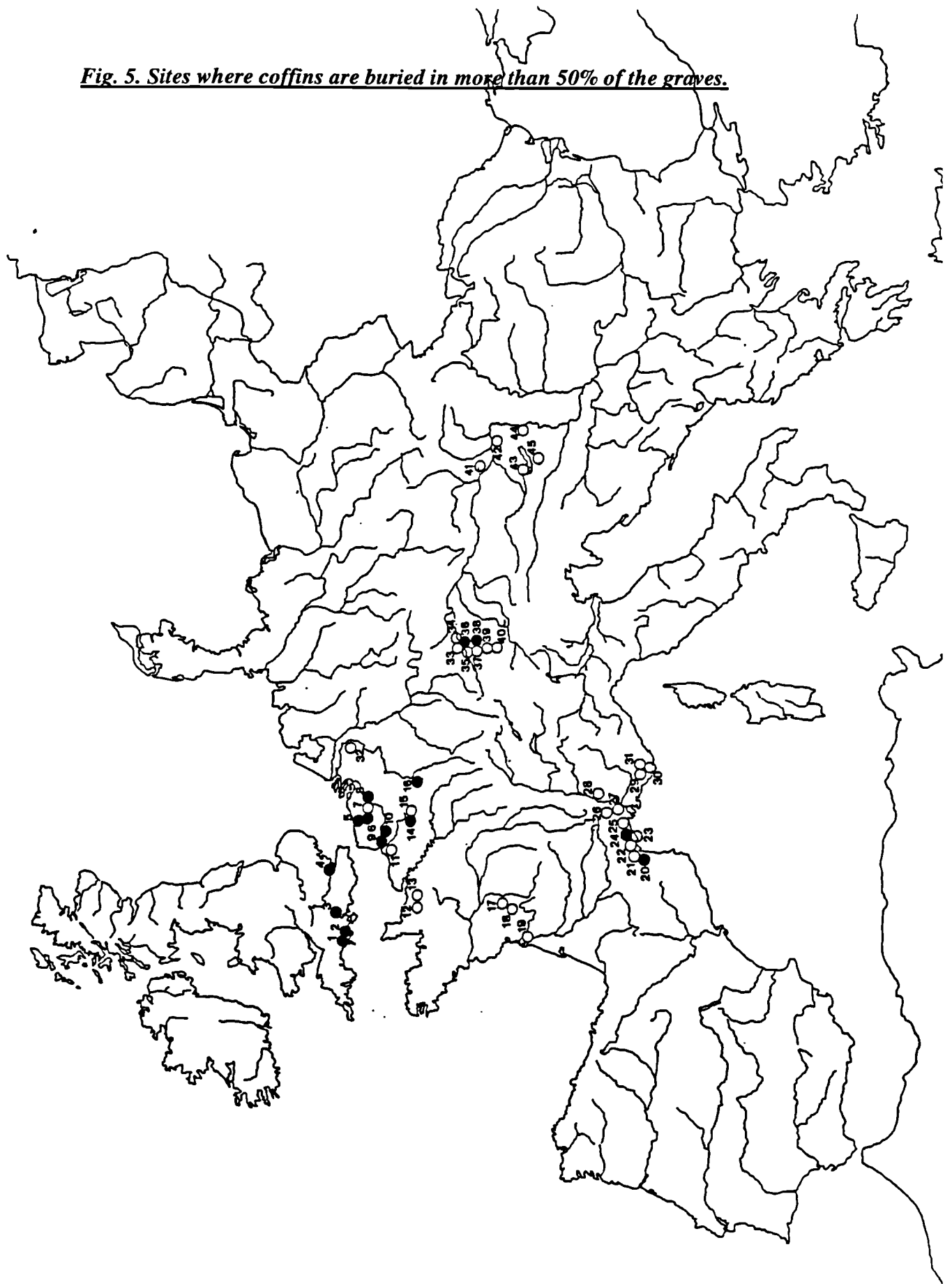


Fig. 6. Sites containing late Roman sarcophagi.

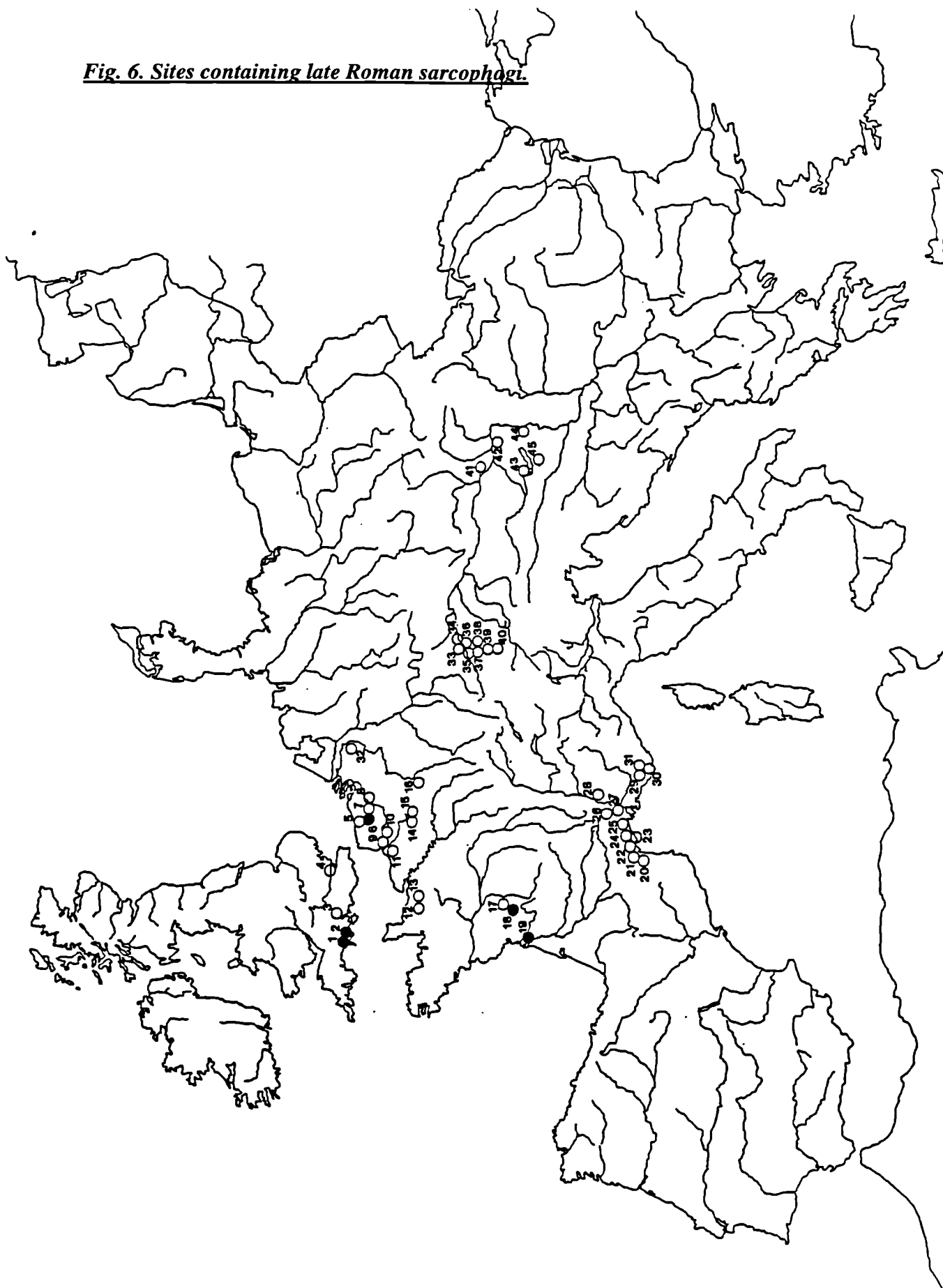


Fig. 7. Sites containing Late Roman amphora burials.

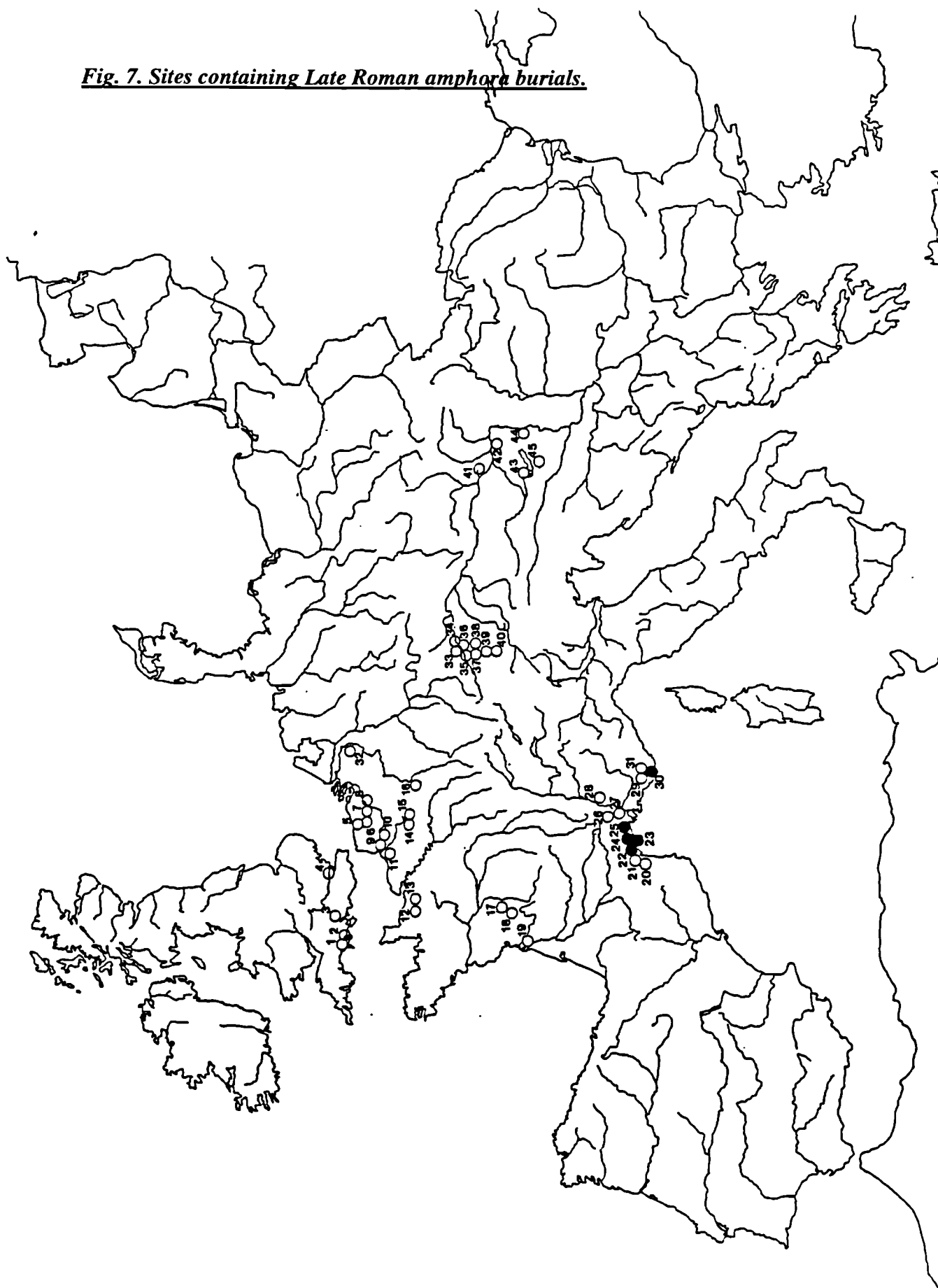


Fig. 8. Sites containing Late Roman flexed burials.

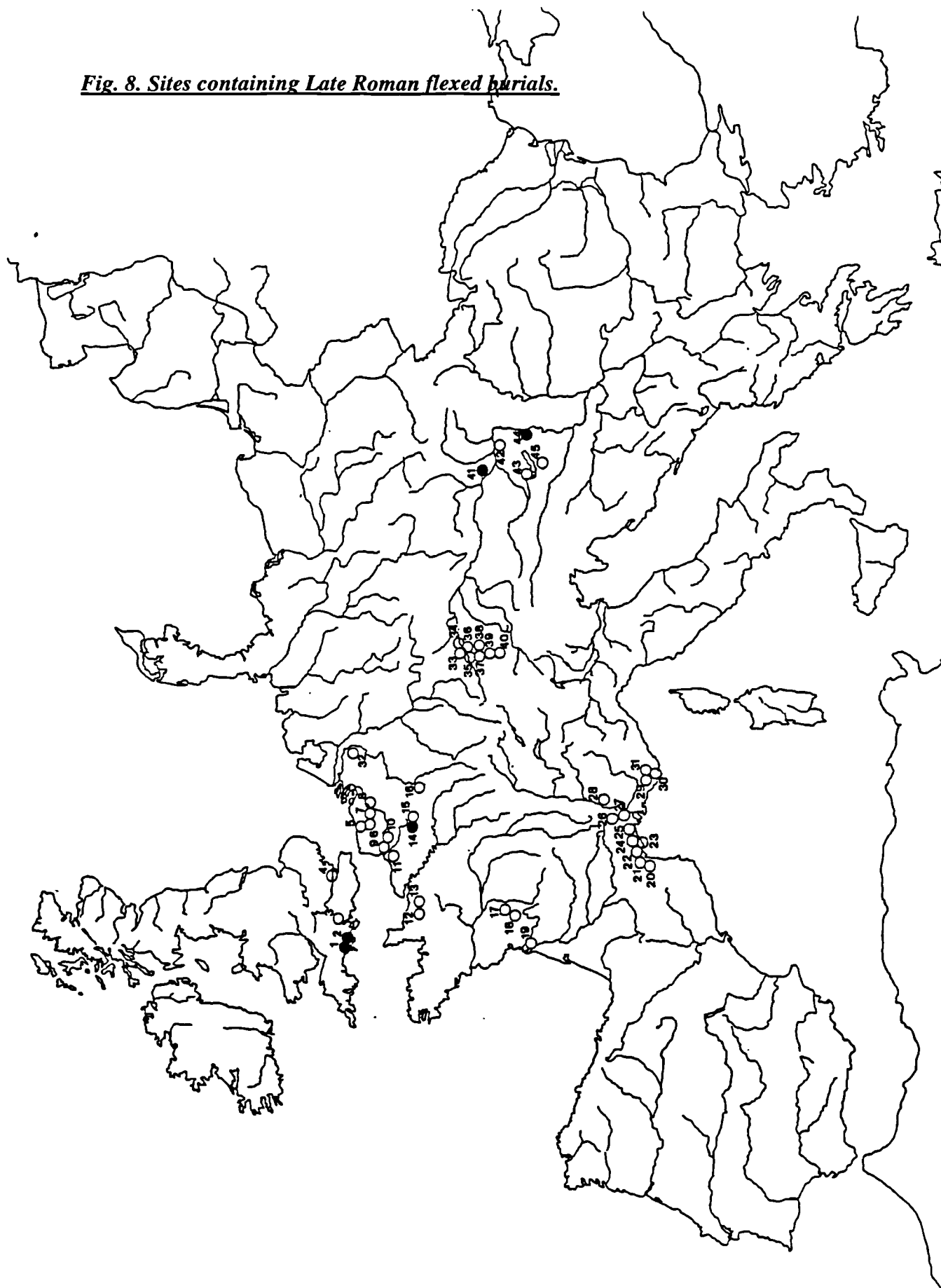


Fig. 9. Sites containing crouched burials.

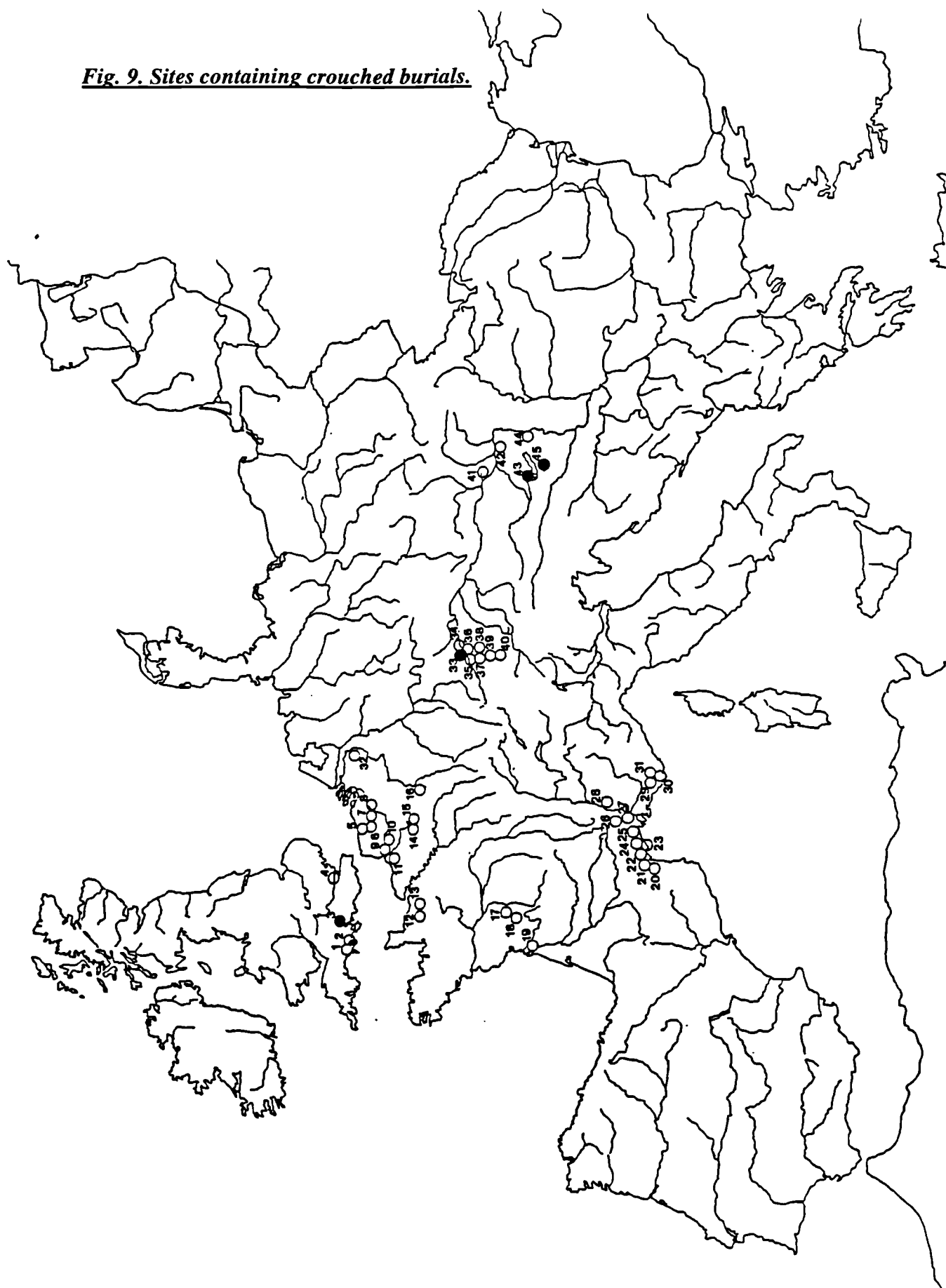


Fig. 10. Sites containing Late Roman decapitations.

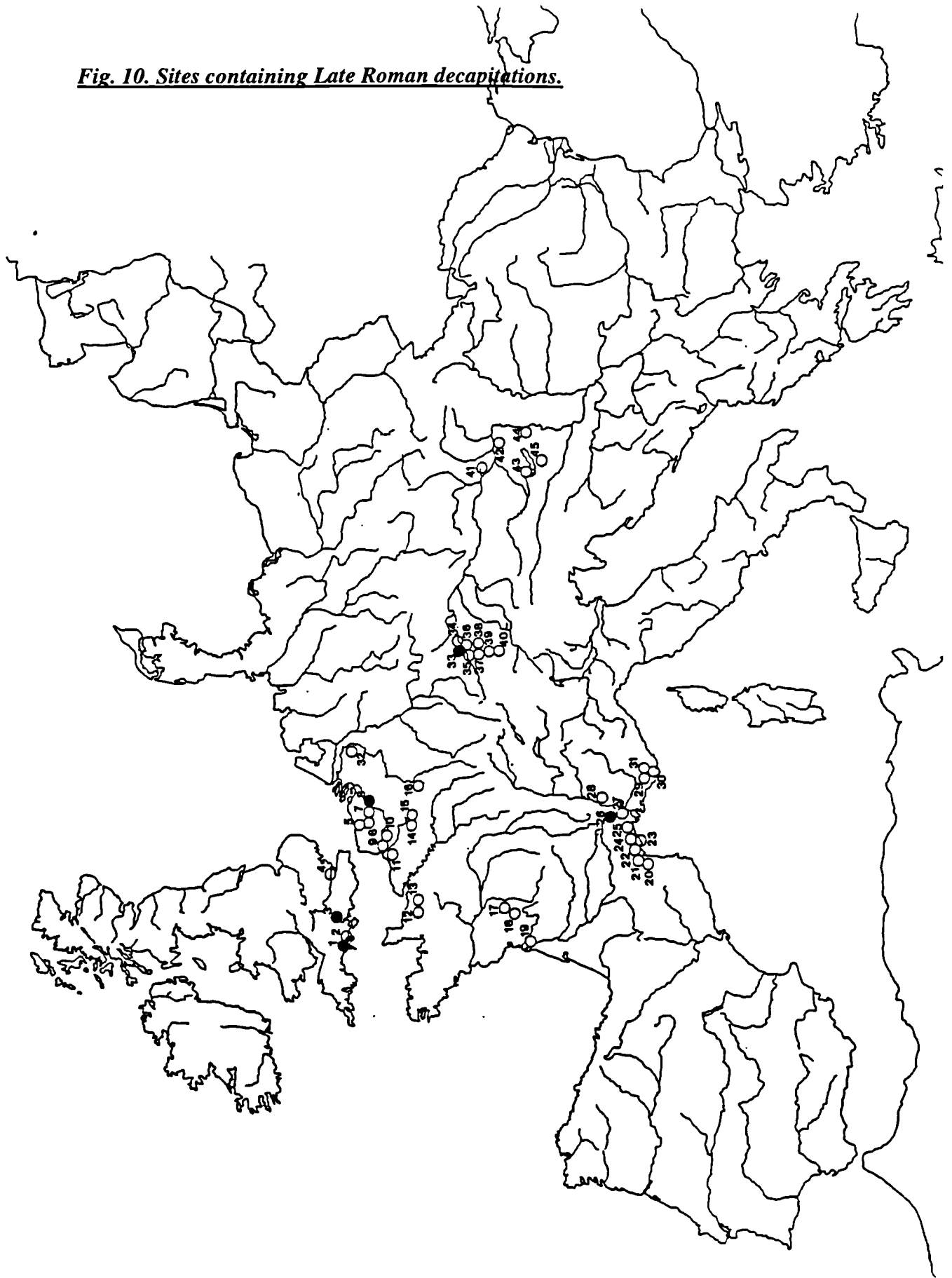


Fig. 11. Sites containing Late Roman prone burials.

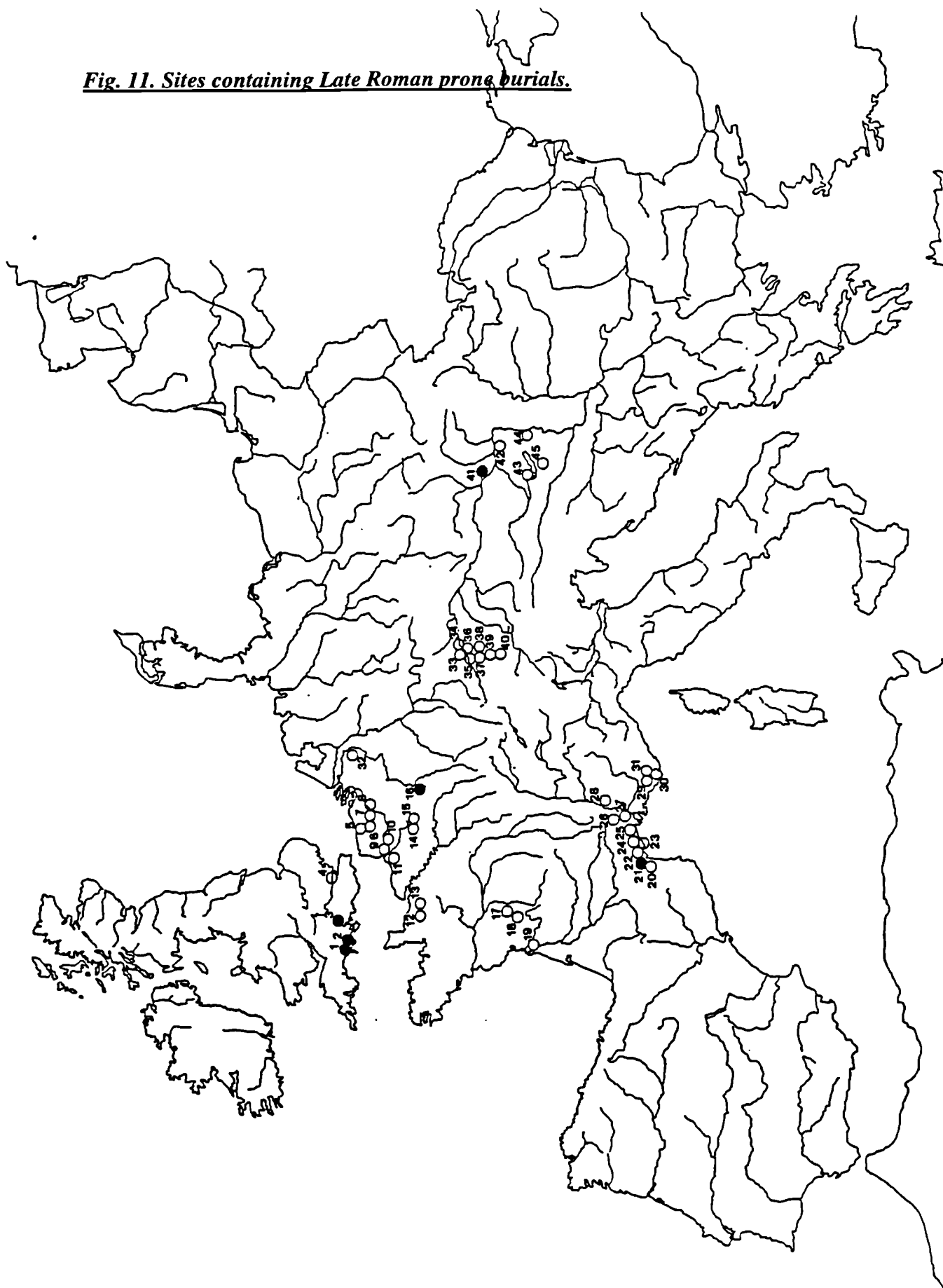


Fig. 12. Sites where unfurnished burials make up more than 50% of the inhumations.

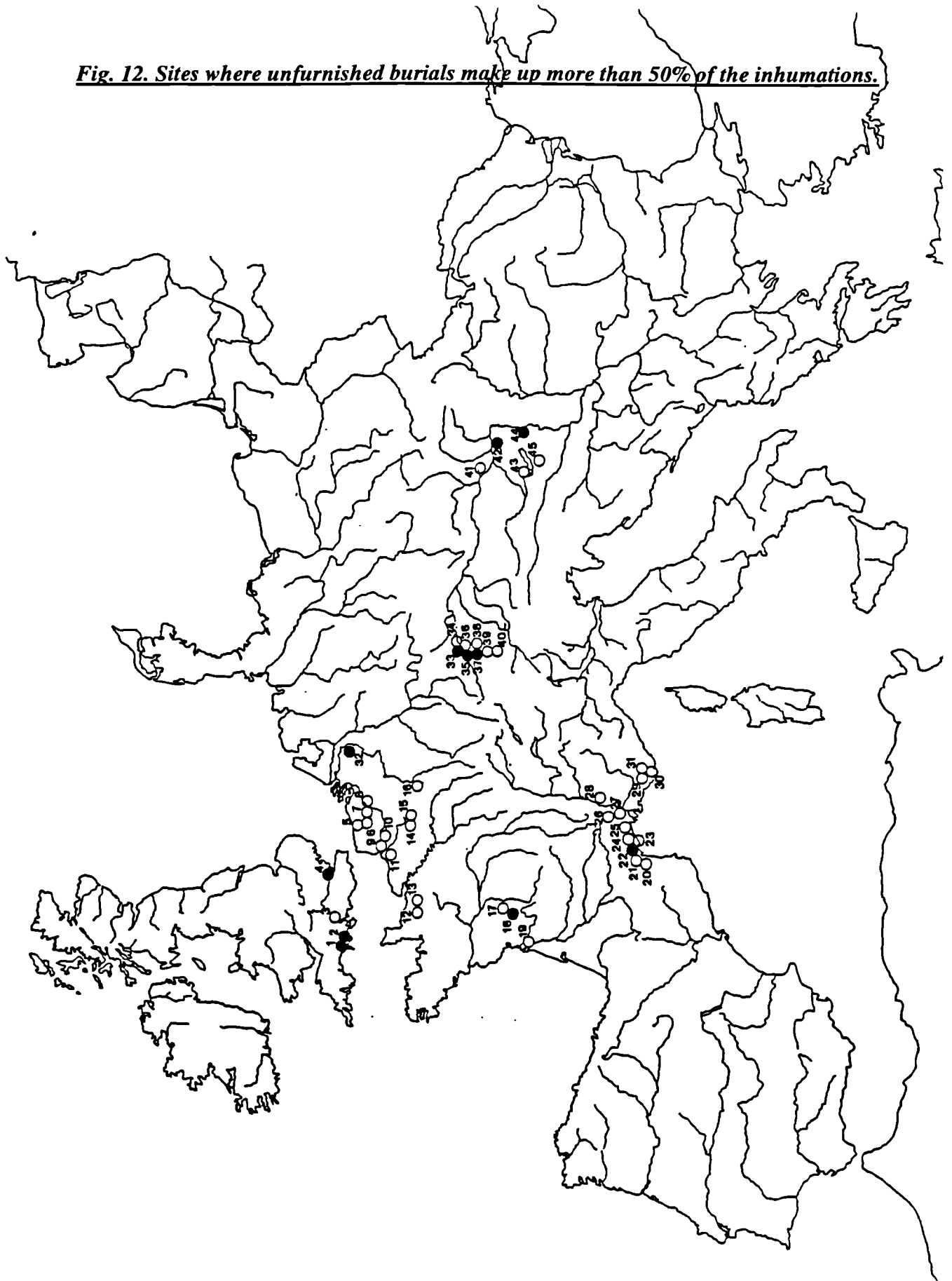


Fig. 13. Sites with Late Roman glazed vessels

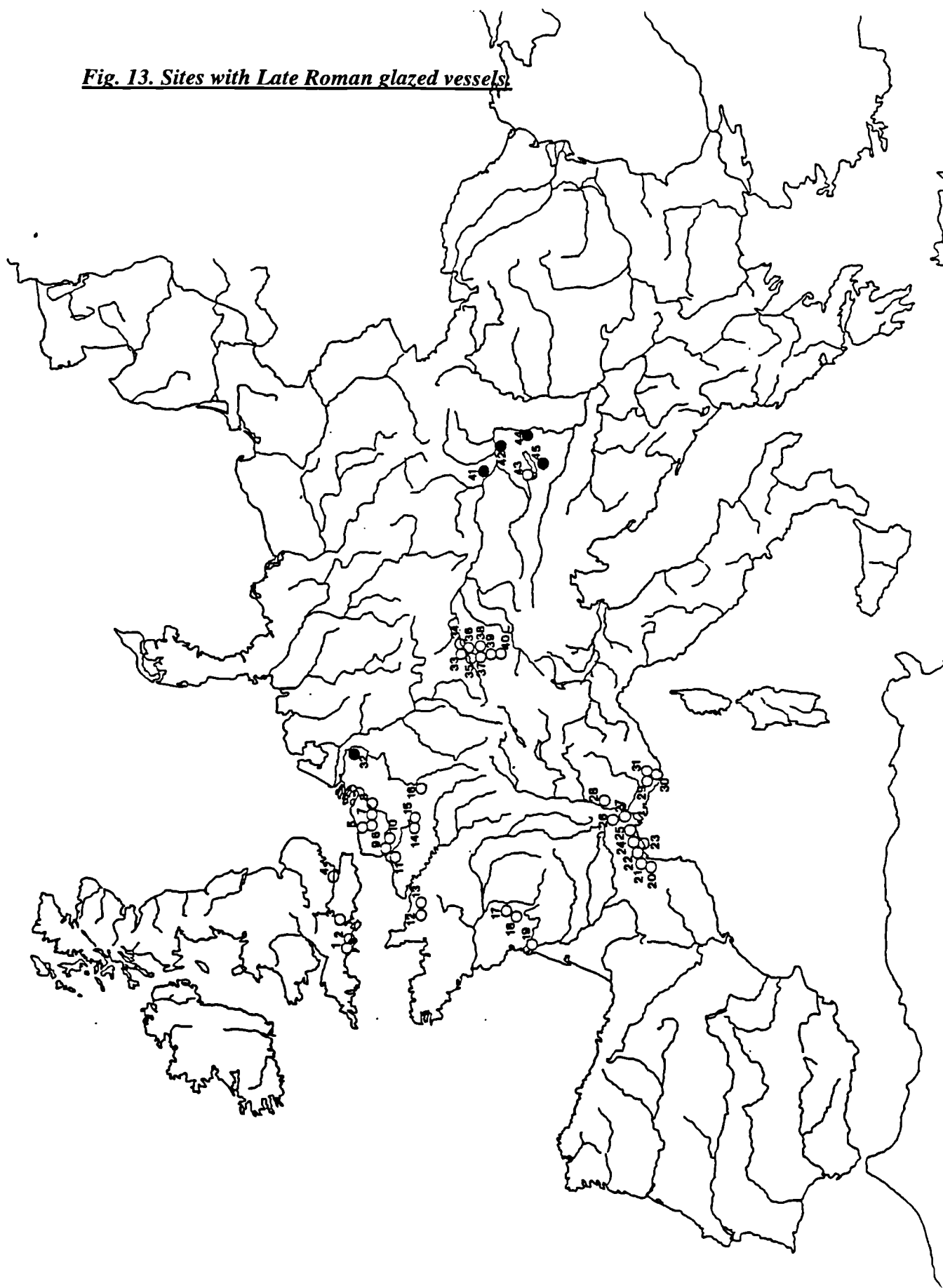


Fig. 14. Sites containing crossbow brooches

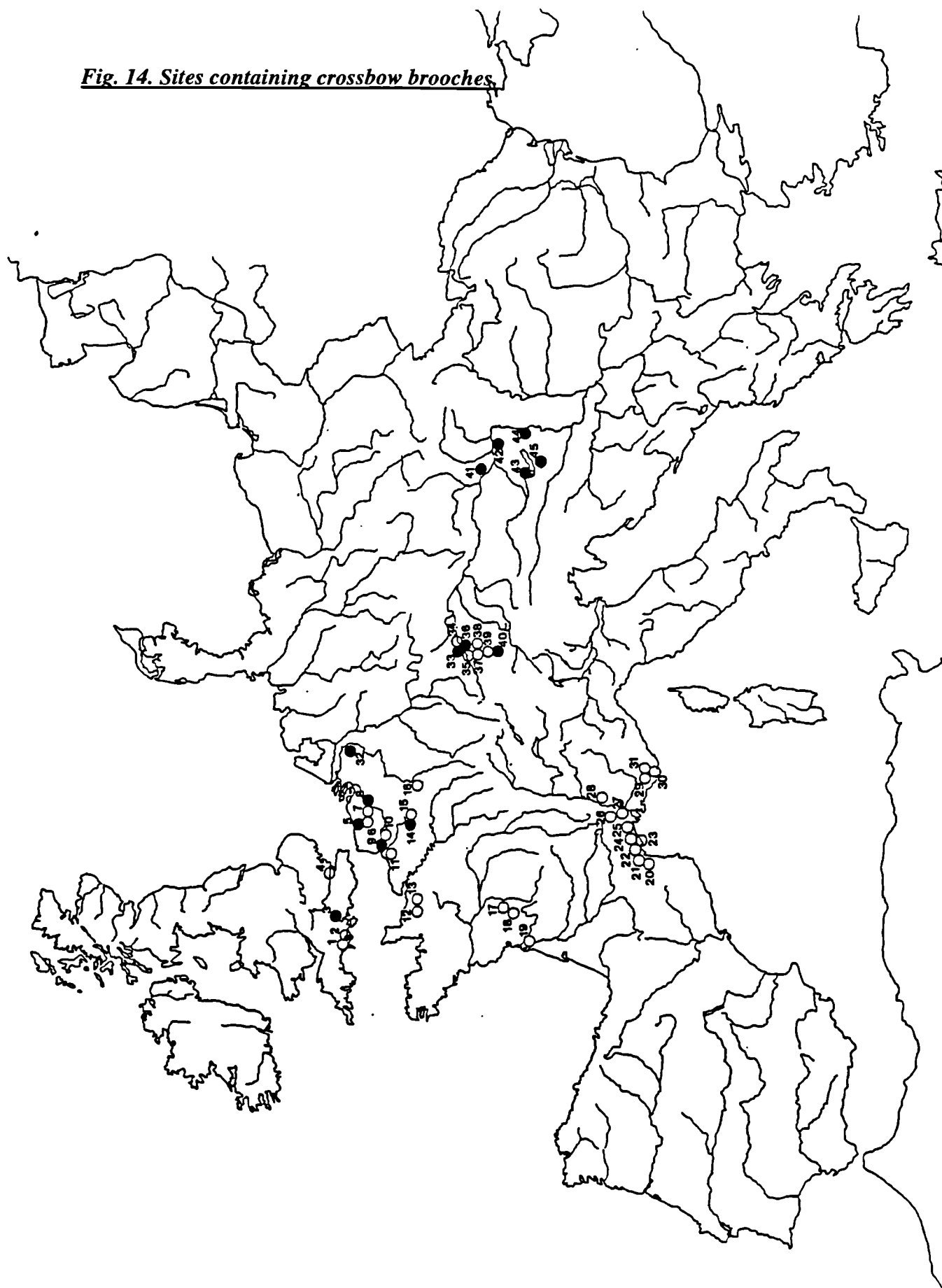


Fig. 15. Sites containing Late Roman buckles.

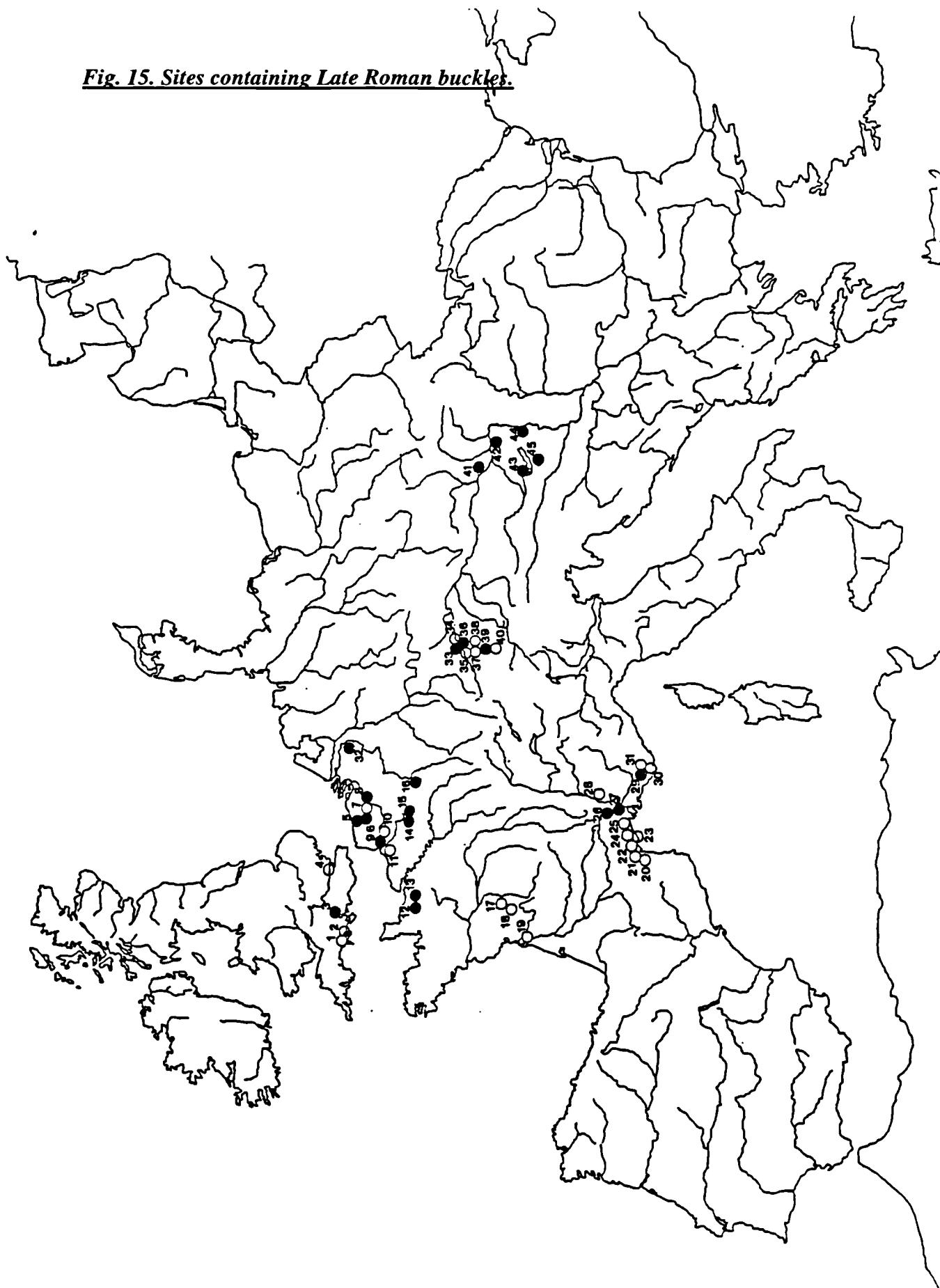


Fig. 16. Sites containing Late Roman belt fittings.

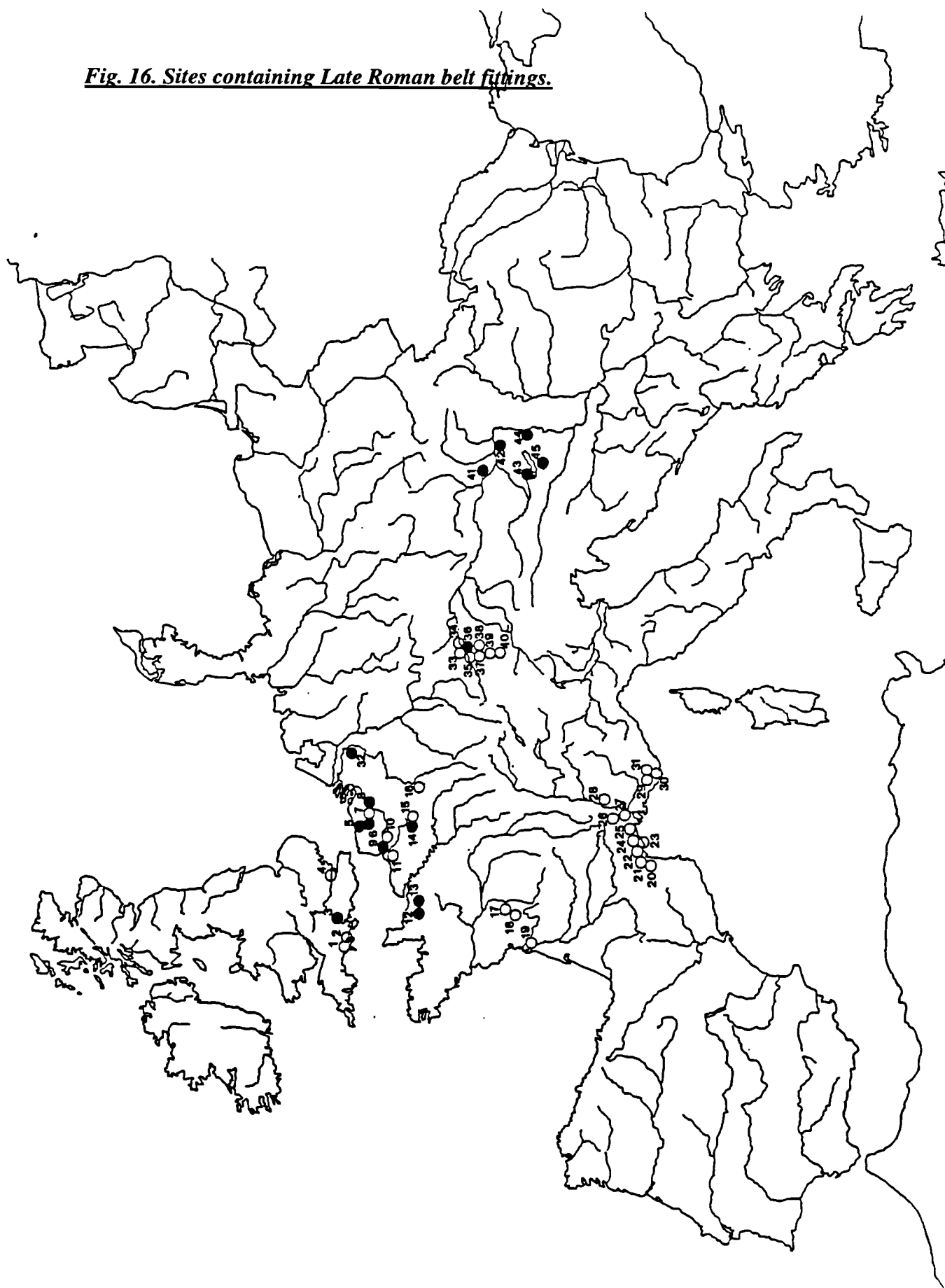


Fig. 17. Sites with the majority of bracelets in some graves are worn on the left arm.

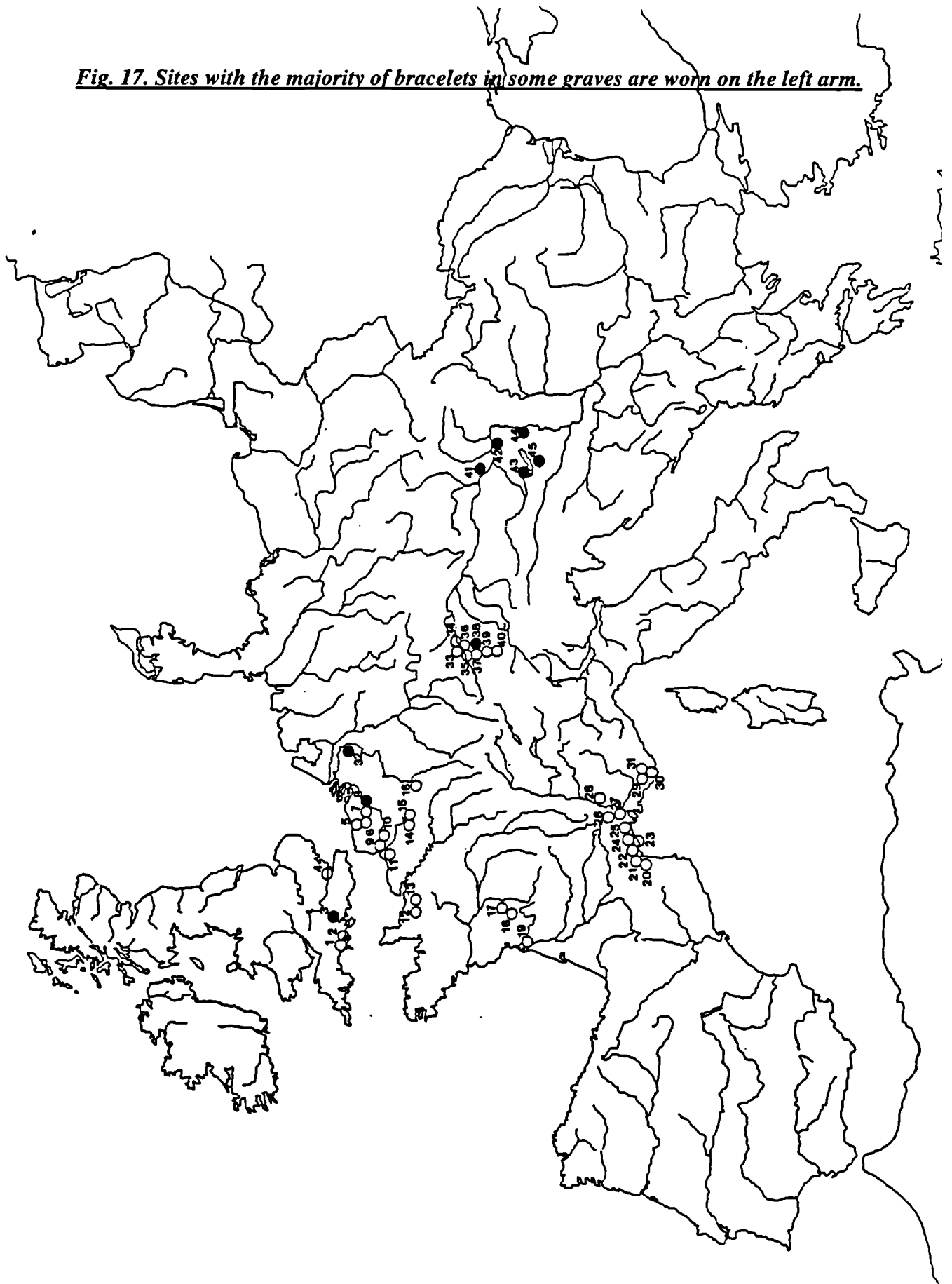


Fig. 18. Sites containing Late Roman weaponry.

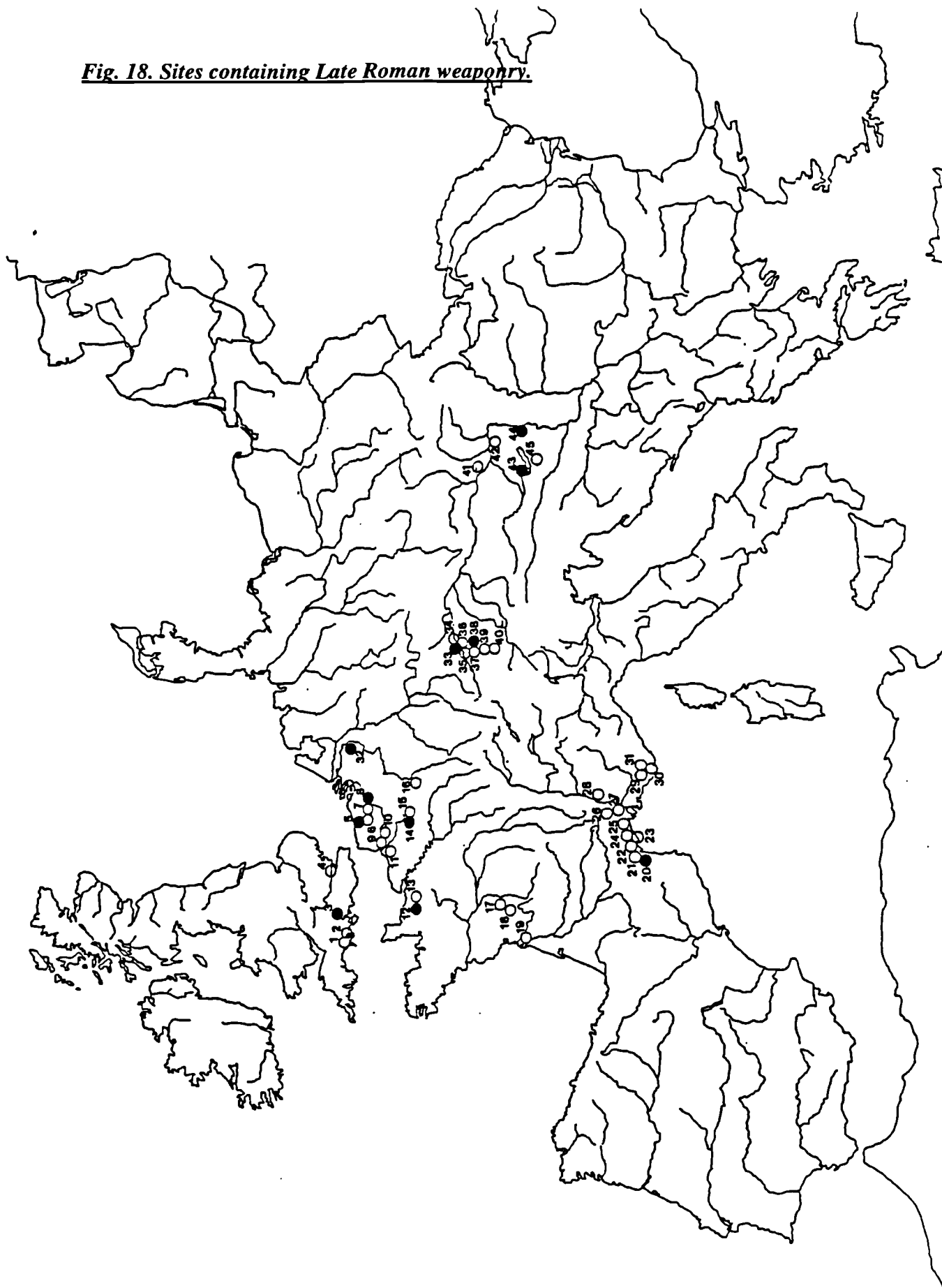


Fig. 19. Sites containing animal remains.

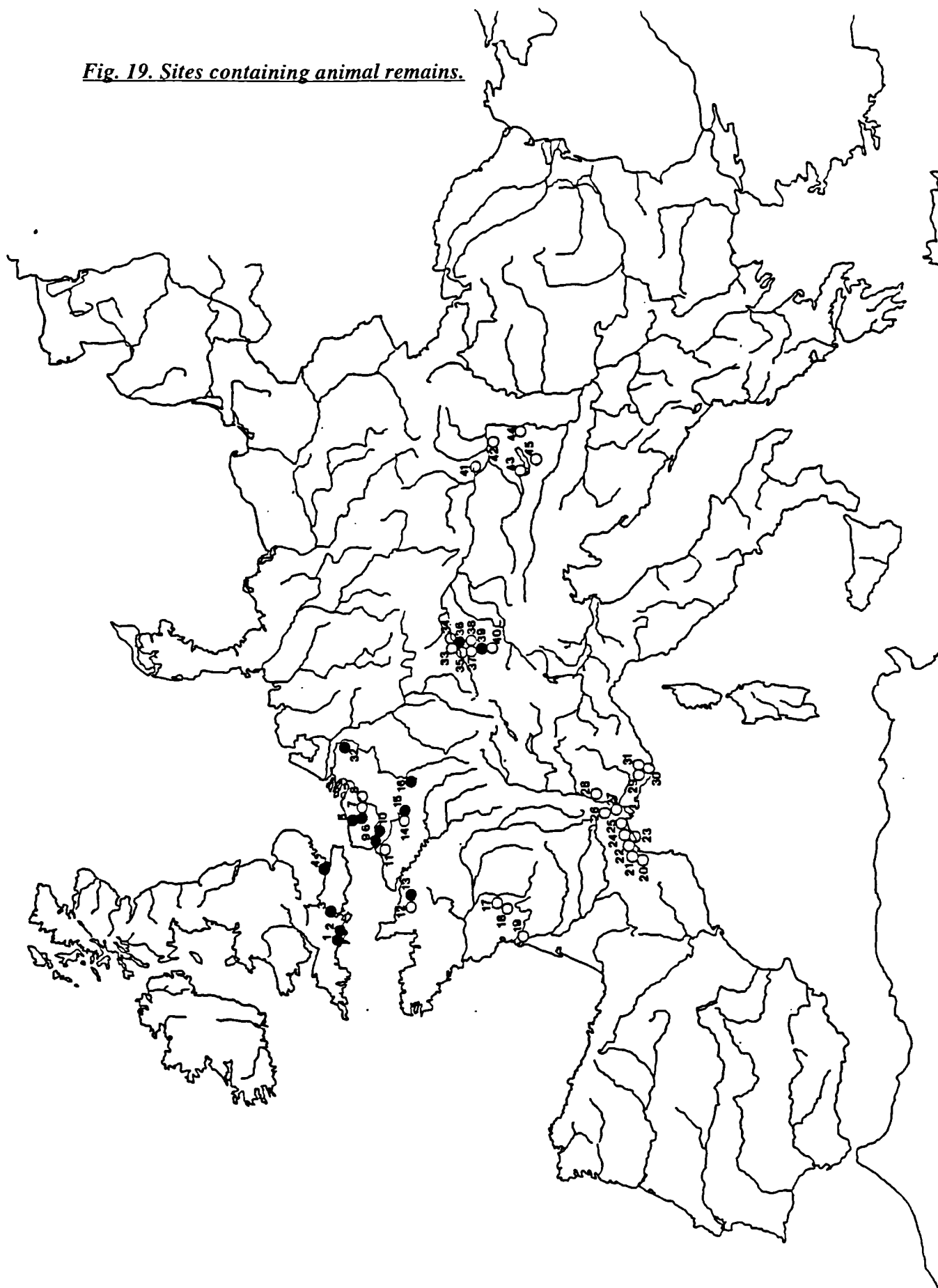


Fig. 20. Sites containing Late Roman stone beakers.

